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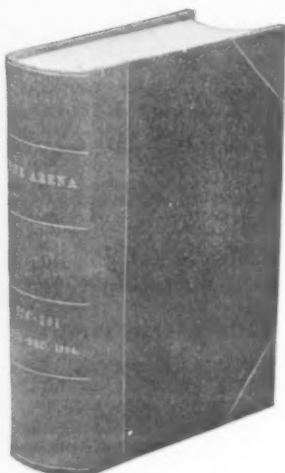
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JOHN MOODY

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

VOL. XXXIV

OCTOBER, 1905

No. 191

THE CONSERVATION OF MONOPOLY.

By JOHN MOODY,

Author of The Truth about the Trusts, Manual of Railroads and Corporation Securities, etc.

I.

THE TRUST movement has developed in this country from apparent incipency twenty-five or thirty years ago, until to-day statisticians estimate that more than \$20,000,000,000 of so-called capitalization (par value of stocks and bonds) is in one way or other embraced in that form of corporate organization popularly known as "the trust." And with this onward march of monopoly has developed the conviction, growing stronger year by year, that the trust form of enterprise is essentially injurious to the country at large; that the gains of the community, if real gains there be, are much more than offset by a long string of unmingled evils, most of which are far-reaching and blighting in their effects.

Concurrent with this growth of corporate industry and the resultant public alarm that has been so closely associated with its expansion, innumerable plans have been devised to cope with these new conditions. Beginning with the movements inspired nearly twenty-five years ago by the disclosures of the secret relations existing between the Standard Oil Trust and the railroads, whereby the former was enabled to eliminate competition and establish itself in undisputed control of over ninety per cent. of the oil industry of the country, the popular movement for trust "regulation" has contin-

ued uninterruptedly in one form or another down to the present day. In 1887 the Interstate Commerce Commission was established, primarily for the purpose of "regulating" railway rates and preventing discrimination; about the same time and shortly afterwards, the several states began to enact laws of various kinds looking to the "regulation" and "supervision" of corporate enterprise; in 1890 the United States Senate Committee made its elaborate report on prices and wages, this investigation having been started largely for the purpose of determining the effect of combination on industry in general; in 1892, the well-known Sherman Anti-Trust law was passed, also looking in the direction of trust "regulation" and "supervision"; following closely upon this event came an era characterized by the further formation and development of state commissions, Massachusetts particularly making a pronounced move in this direction and establishing, besides its steam-railroad commission, a gas and electric-light commission and a corporation commission; also, in 1897, a special commission made an elaborate investigation of the street-railway industry of the state and submitted a voluminous report. In the meanwhile, public interest in the trust question continued to grow; the literature of trust "regula-

tion" became a special department of economic and political study; the subject was beginning to be discussed by all classes and from every point-of-view; trust conferences began to be formed; further special committees were appointed by legislatures, governors and others in authority, all having in view the "regulation" of the now more apparently menacing trust evil. President McKinley appointed the well-known Industrial Commission, which after several years of investigation submitted a voluminous report of nearly twenty volumes, full of statistics of every kind, and recommending certain measures as remedies, all pointing in the direction of corporate "publicity," "regulation" and "supervision." Following the entry of Theodore Roosevelt into the White House, the anti-trust agitation took on an additional lease of life; the President stirred the country with his notorious move against the Northern Securities merger, and then followed this up with an active campaign for trust "regulation" and "supervision," advocating a constitutional amendment and other measures; a campaign the fruits of which have been the passage of the Elkins law and the establishment of the Bureau of Commerce and Labor.

Such, briefly, has been the scope of accomplishment of the anti-trust crusade in the realm of actual law. But the general agitation has extended much further and has been far more intense. Hundreds of books have been written; scores of political platforms have been framed, and editorial and other articles without number have been served up to the public for a decade or more, all condemning from various points-of-view and for all kinds of reasons the injurious effects of "predatory wealth," of the evils of the trusts, and of the extortions of monopoly. During the same period anti-trust leagues and anti-monopoly societies have been formed by the score; all sorts of clubs, associations and other organized bodies, secular and religious, have declared against the evils of the trust, and hundreds

of thousands of dollars have been spent in pushing the anti-trust propaganda and popularizing the various plans for trust "regulation" and "supervision." And latterly, a new line of attack has been pursued. Beginning with the publication of Miss Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company*, the magazine field has given a steadily increasing space to the publication of criticisms, *exposés* and attacks, touching the inner and personal methods of the trust magnates, all in one way or other seeming to prepare the public mind and leading up to the climax (now being witnessed) involved in the exposure of the inner rottenness and rascality of management in one of the largest life-insurance companies of the country. And the end is not yet.

The foregoing glance at the industrial history of the past ten or fifteen years sufficiently shows that during this period the idea of trust domination has not been silently accepted by the people, but that on the contrary, a pronounced and deep-seated aversion has been demonstrated toward trust extortion and the evils of monopoly. And yet, in the face of all this adverse legislation, in spite of this tremendous upheaval of public opinion which has spread from one end of the country to the other with ever increasing breadth and force as the years have gone by; in the face of such facts as these, the trusts have grown steadily, relentlessly, systematically, and one might almost say scientifically. They have grown in scope and purpose; they have grown in strength and method, and where, even as late as three years ago, many of the large industrial trusts were regarded, from the Wall-street point-of-view, as uncertain experiments, mere "inflations of expectancy," these same concerns, with no more real capital invested and no more ability at the head of them, are to-day being pointed to in the financial community as good examples of increasingly staple institutions, with thoroughly assured futures.

In short, the general situation and outlook, from the trust magnates' point-of-

view, is regarded as preëminently stable and sound. With the anti-trust element of the country (backed by a large body of the regular reformers, not to mention the "free-lancers" like Lawson) all predicting dire calamity and a general breaking down of "confidence" within a twelve-month, the financial and industrial center of the country remains unperturbed and serene, and Wall street, instead of seeing breakers ahead, is looking forward with confidence to the biggest boom of its history during the next two years. It is summer with the trust-kings and no storms are on the horizon.

To the majority of those in the anti-trust camp this situation seems inexplicable. It appears to them like the confidence of imbecility, and they content themselves with explaining it on the theory that the monopolists are blind to the signs of the times because of their entire absorption in their various "nefarious schemes of graft," and hence have come to lose all idea of perspective.

Such reasoning as this is as illogical as it is absurd. It is a grave mistake to belittle the intelligence of America's "men of affairs" and assume that they do not read the signs of the times. For they do read them, and they happen to have a point of vantage which enables them to judge conditions far more intelligently than their adversaries. And their present calmness is due to the fact that they see more safety than danger in the current trend of public opinion in the direction of trust "regulation" and "supervision." It is the view of those who do the careful thinking in the financial community (and the thoughtful men dominate here as thoughtful men do in other walks of life), that, instead of the main current of agitation in any sense undermining their position, it is promising to conserve it to an extent far beyond their fondest hopes of a few years ago. It is unconsciously forming a secure future for monopoly instead of the reverse.

The present writer holds this view completely and ventures to predict that,

unless the main current of the anti-trust agitation takes a different angle, monopoly will, in spite of the continued growth of public sentiment in opposition to it, find itself far more firmly intrenched ten years from now than it is to-day. For the real truth is that the so-called "anti-trust movement," which has been responsible for the enactment of so many laws "regulating" and "supervising," and which is to-day using the words "regulation" and "supervision" to conjure with, is proving to be nothing more nor less than a tremendous engine for the conserving of monopoly, and not for the extinction or elimination of it. Regulation does not mean elimination. Regulation implies preservation.

Examine the situation for a moment. What is it that makes the trust obnoxious, be it a steam-railroad, a gas-company, a manufacturing enterprise, or any other money-making aggregation? It is not its size, for many of the smaller trusts are obviously more unpopular than some of the larger ones. It is not the method of management, nor the personnel, nor the location, nor the particular line of business. These are limited and local characteristics only. But there is another general characteristic which all obnoxious trusts possess and which is best described as monopoly-power; that is, the possession of power to extort, in one form or another. Mark you, not the mere *desire* to extort, but the *power*, whether uniformly and to its full extent exercised or not.

But how comes monopoly-power? It is not capital, nor labor, nor land, and these three are agreed upon by political economists as the three factors of production. Is monopoly, then, a fourth factor? In trust parlance it is, for it produces wealth to its possessor where no wealth could be otherwise secured. But, speaking accurately, monopoly is not a wealth-producer, but a wealth-diverter. The "scientific" socialist holds that capital and monopoly are one, but he ought to know better. The capitalists themselves consciously distinguish the

difference every time, and they, possessing, or angling for the real thing, ought to be pretty good judges. And while they call themselves capitalists and not monopolists, yet they know that monopoly-power and capital are essentially different things. They do know, however, that monopoly is an asset of enormous magnitude.

II.

While the majority of trusts possess monopoly-power in one form or another, yet all do not, and it is universally true that where a trust possesses no monopoly-power at all, it cannot be broadly or permanently harmful to the community. To make this point plain I subjoin two illustrations, one of a trust possessing exclusive monopoly-power, and the other of a trust possessing practically no monopoly-power.

A. The Reading Company is a security-holding corporation which controls the Philadelphia and Reading Railway system, the Central Railway of New Jersey, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, and various allied corporations. In all it controls over 2,140 miles of railroad in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and, besides the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, owns extensive coal-fields in Pennsylvania. It controls, through the New Jersey Central, the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. It thus indirectly controls a large proportion of the anthracite coal-fields. The Pennsylvania law does not permit of railroad companies owning or controlling coal companies, but it will be noted that the Reading Company is not a railroad, but a "holding-company" holding the stocks of railroads, and so forth. A majority of the Reading Company's stock is, however, owned by Pennsylvania Railroad and Vanderbilt interests, which carries virtual control.

The Reading Company possesses several sources for the employment of monopoly-power. Through its railroads

it gets the natural monopoly benefits which all railroads have, such as its rights of way, terminal sites, and the like. Through its coal companies it gets another monopoly benefit of enormous extent. Through its control of a large majority of the coal mines it dominates the Pennsylvania coal-fields, and is thus enabled, jointly with the other large mine-owners, to set practically its own figure for the sale of coal. It also through its possession of the railroad outlets is enabled to fix its own terms with independent owners, who have no outlets of their own. The result is that its strategic position is of the strongest. It is enabled to derive full benefit from those two sources of monopoly-power and the enormous earnings of the company during the past two years sufficiently attest that it is using this power.

In 1896 the Philadelphia and Reading Railway was reorganized, and the Reading Company was capitalized at \$140,000,000 of stock, and, including subsidiary mortgages, over \$80,000,000 of bonds. In this stock capitalization the monopoly-power of the future was largely anticipated. At that time there was no coal combine and the country was just beginning to recover from a long period of depression, so that the railroad monopoly-rights were not so valuable as they afterward became. But, nevertheless, the total stock and bond issues of this company were at that time quoted in the aggregate at only about \$110,000,000. The properties represented by this \$110,000,000 could easily have been duplicated for \$60,000,000 (assuming no monopoly element in the coal-fields and rights of way), so that actually the monopoly-power then was fairly valued commercially at \$50,000,000. The net earnings of the Company in the following year were about \$9,200,000. This entire amount was more than consumed in payment of interest charges, rents and improvements, etc., leaving a book deficit for the year of over \$1,000,000. If, however, we deduct the \$2,200,000 which was reported as spent

in payment of improvements we have about \$7,000,000 as the net income of the entire property for the year, which, aside from its monopoly features, could probably have been reproduced, as pointed out above, for about \$60,000,000.

Nine years later the situation has materially changed for the Reading Company. With practically no more mileage (except the New Jersey Central system), with no more coal lands, and with not more than \$60,000,000 new cash invested (including the New Jersey Central system) the total market value of the Reading Company and its subsidiary companies' securities have increased from \$110,000,000 to over \$300,000,000, and the net earnings from \$9,200,000 in 1896 to nearly \$24,000,000 in the year ended June 30, 1905. As the actual properties could now fairly be duplicated (excluding monopoly) at \$110,000,000, the capitalized value of the combinations' monopoly privileges is therefore to-day commercially valued at about \$190,000,000, and the \$24,000,000 earned is really equal to nearly 22 per cent. on the replacing cost independent of the monopoly features. A prosperous situation, to say the least.

B. Let us now examine the trust which possesses no monopoly-power.

In 1902 the International Mercantile Marine Company was formed by the consolidation of various transatlantic steamship lines, including the American Line, White Star, Leyland, Atlantic Transport and Dominion lines. These constituted seven of the most important, but not all the Atlantic lines. In forming this combination various ultimate plans were held in view; it was hoped to bring all lines of any importance into the combine sooner or later, and in anticipation of this, and also of the probable passage through Congress of the ship-subsidy bill, the capitalization of the new company was placed at about \$167,000,000 par value, with authority to issue over \$30,000,000 additional securities for further acquisitions.

But the cherished plans of the promoters were not realized, and the other companies, instead of coming into the combine, proceeded to fight it. Furthermore the ship-subsidy bill was killed. As a result the combination was obliged to operate from the start on a competitive basis, and its securities, instead of commanding values commensurate with the enormous capitalization, quickly sank to a level representing the actual value of the properties and business independent of monopoly, and the earnings, instead of indicating monopoly-extortion sank to a point far below the amount needed for paying interest on the bonds. To-day the par capitalization of \$174,000,000 (\$6,000,000 bonds having been recently sold), would not bring \$60,000,000 at a forced sale, and the net earnings for the year just closed did not equal four per cent. on \$50,000,000.

III.

Both of the enterprises described above are stable; both have had ample capital and able management; both are combinations of distinct industries; both possessed at their beginning what was regarded as enormously inflated capitalizations. And yet the one (that on the land) is demonstrably a tremendous success, while the other (that on the water) appears to be a dismal failure.

It may be argued that the Shipping-Trust has suffered a serious rate-war, from which it has hardly recovered; but so did the Reading Company suffer what to the public was a far more serious coal-strike, and yet where are the traces of it in its monopoly-power and its earnings?

In short, the distinction is so plain that even the blind should see. One was built upon the rock of monopoly, which it already possessed; the other on the hope of a monopoly, which did not materialize.

It is this monopoly-power which is at the root of our industrial and social disorders. And it is this monopoly-power that the people are trying to get the legislators not to destroy, but to "regulate"

and "supervise." To regulate apparently with a view to the removal of evils, but in effect to regulate in such a way as to make more secure to the present possessors.

The crux of the whole industrial question is in the treatment of this element of monopoly. The current plans for the "regulation" of it seem bound to make it more secure under governmental control. This in essence is involved in the programme of the socialist; it is in that of the populist in his plans for the "control" or "supervision" of it; and others of every creed and type propose to "regulate" it in one way or other.* The net result of all these plans will be to finally work the element of monopoly into a position where it will be far more arbitrarily regulated by government in a scientific manner for the benefit of its possessors.

The more far-seeing and abler monopolists all recognize that their worst enemies are found in their own class. They do not worry much about the programme of the Socialist or the various other schemes for controlling their powers. They rather look forward with calmness and confidence to the day when government "supervision" will be an actual reality, and when the extreme outrages committed in their own ranks which nowadays so often awaken the resentment of the rank and file and help to keep agitation alive, will be a thing of the past. Paternalism will then be an accomplished fact, whether it takes the outward form of "socialism" or elaborates our present form of "a strong industrial republic."

It is mainly for this reason that the great industrial interests lean more and more toward government regulation, and not away from it, and that they are taking a closer hand in the affairs of government than ever before. They fully realize that the movement must be dual in its

* We think Mr. Moody is in error if we understand his position to be that Socialists and the People's Party favor governmental control of railways. Socialists, as a rule, oppose control no less strenuously than does Mr. Moody. They demand not only public-ownership of the railways, but the extension of public-ownership through the industrial and commercial life of the nation. The People's

nature—if government is to "supervise" or "regulate" monopoly, it will be just as necessary for monopoly to regulate or supervise government to an equal extent. And this is being done to a nicety wherever any actual regulation of monopoly is in vogue.

In view of the foregoing facts, it seems the veriest nonsense, in the eyes of the present writer, for sincere well-wishers of the public happiness and lovers of genuine equality and justice to expend their efforts in promoting the ordinary class of reforms. These aggregations of so-called public movements, liberal programmes, social service societies, public control leagues and the like, are one and all hastening the day when monopoly will be more strongly entrenched than ever, and the rank and file of the public, instead of being half-willing, half-protesting sharers of unjust economic conditions, as now, will be far more helpless victims of an industrial paternalism such as the world has never before known.

The more we examine this situation the clearer it becomes that the monopoly-power is an evil to be eliminated and not conserved. The two illustrations given above stand out in bold relief, and while in the case of one enormous power is possessed for diverting wealth, in the other there is no such power. No cry has gone up for the regulation of the Shipping-Trust, and no complaint is heard regarding extortion in connection with it. But precisely the reverse is true with regard to the Reading Company.

Is a remedy, then, public-ownership of the railroads? This would give the community (it is assumed) full control of rates and thus chain the monopoly-power of the railroad. Other things being equal and with the same ability of management, the same incentives for economy, and

Party are strongly committed to governmental ownership and operation, but as a party, they are not, we think, in favor of supervision or control, and if any of their leaders favor supervision or control, it is only as a step towards the public-ownership and operation of these and other public utilities.—
Editor of THE ARENA.

always supposing a government actually controlled by the people and not by special interests (a large assumption), yes. But, controlling the Reading Railway would not be controlling the price of coal, and with the mine-owners in combination the consumers of coal would be practically where they were before. "Then," some will exclaim, "go a step further and socialize the coal-fields." If this plan could be adopted, would the desired result be accomplished? As pointed out above, coëxtensive with the growth of socialist sentiment and the extension of the powers of government in this country, there is growing daily a stronger domination of government itself by the farseeing beneficiaries of monopoly; a class of men, who, whatever programme is followed, must always be figured in as important factors in the carrying out of any plan, and who, because of their great practical ability and disbelief in altruistic attitudes would be found largely dominating any situation where government power was involved.

As the writer has pointed out in another work, monopoly-power is a factor of such moment that it cannot be eliminated by the enactment of restrictive and regulating legislation, such as has recently become so popular, any more than the sunlight can be regulated by statute law, and in conferring on government the right to superintend and supervise the production and distribution of wealth, we do not eliminate monopoly; we only tend to concentrate monopoly-power in the hands of the few—the ultimate goal of which seems to be the ideal of the socialist, to make the government the exclusive possessor of all monopoly, of all wealth, and even of man himself. Socialistic dreamers see in this the advent of equality among men, but practical business men see in it the consummation of complete paternalism. For when the mass of the people have reached that point where they are willing to "pool" all their natural individual rights, their "social commonwealth" will quickly evolve into the private preserve

of one or a few forceful and aggressive characters.

It will be asked, what then do you propose? In the first place, a movement, not to "regulate" or "supervise" the workings of monopoly, but a movement by the people to control government, to control their own representatives and their own laws. This can best be done at present through the initiative and referendum, a proposal which will be ridiculed and cried down and pooh-poohed by every monopolist,—and naturally, for this is a programme which the monopolist fears. Fight him along the "control" plan as hard as you please, and he will not seriously oppose you. Propose the referendum plan and he is up in arms at once.

This is the first thing, and until this thing is done, nothing is done. This puts the power to do in the hands of the people as nothing else ever can.

Then, briefly, having once gotten the actual power to do, let the community not seek to preserve, conserve or cherish this element of monopoly, but rather seek measures to eliminate and wipe it out. The socialist thinks you can not do this; but the socialist does not know, he only thinks. The monopolist is the man who knows, and there is absolutely no doubt about his exact knowledge on the subject. By the most practical of tests he can see just how his monopoly-power can be killed, and this killing is the thing he dreads. Juggle with monopoly all you please, make it a "public function"; this does not greatly worry him. He will take his chances at a share of the government, or a slice of the "function." But kill the monopoly-worm and he is done.

How kill it? Repeal the laws that conserve it, and then tax it to death. Take down your tariff-walls; tax the fat out of your franchises, your land privileges and other special benefits. This programme conserves equality and eliminates monopoly; the other conserves monopoly and eliminates equality.

JOHN MOODY.

Cranford, N. J.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN SWITZERLAND.

By ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

IN THE election of parliamentary or legislative representatives only three civilized nations use systems that accord with justice, fair play and common sense. These nations are Belgium, Japan and Switzerland. There was a fourth—Tasmania; but the selfishness of politicians has temporarily taken her from the front rank of political progress, though they cannot efface her excellent and instructive record.

Let me very briefly refresh your memory as to the proportional principle. It is essential that each electoral district should be "plural"; that is, large enough to return several members. How these plural districts are used can best be explained by the specific instance of a district in which thirty thousand voters elect six representatives. Divide 30,000 by 6 and you get 5,000. When any five thousand voters can freely combine or group themselves together and elect one representative, the final result is that the voters have divided themselves into six approximately equal groups of about 5,000 each; every group has its chosen representative; all the voters are represented and no one is disfranchised. This is what is aimed at, and this is what is got more or less perfectly by the various systems of proportional voting.

In most of these systems the elector has only one vote which finally counts. Such is the case with Belgium and Japan, and was the case with Tasmania. In Switzerland, however, the plan prevails of giving to each elector as many votes as there are members to be elected, and then getting a proportional result by the method of counting. This plan is known as the Free-List System with the Multiple Vote, and my present purpose is to show how the Swiss are using it.*

*In doing so, my chief source of information is Mr. Philip Jamin, of Geneva, Switzerland, who

A Swiss canton is the equivalent of an American state or a Canadian province. Five cantons elect their legislatures by proportional representation, namely Ticino, Neuchatel, Geneva, Zug and Soleure. Besides this, the people of Soleure elect the tax commission proportionally; also all municipal councils which consist of more than seven members. When the number is less than seven, the proportional method of election ceases to be obligatory and becomes optional. In Canton Freiburg there is the option of electing municipal councils proportionally. Canton Berne and Canton Ticino also use proportional representation municipally; this including the large capital city of Berne.

Switzerland's Federal Parliament is elected on the old plan. It consists of two houses: the "Council of States" and the "National Council." In the autumn of 1900 a sufficiently signed initiative petition demanded a referendum on the proposal to use proportional representation in electing the National Council. The proposed law was voted down on November 4, 1900, along with another proposed law for electing members of the Federal Executive by the people direct. I asked Mr. Jamin what he thought was the reason of this and he replied:

"My opinion concerning the rejection of proportional representation for the election of the National Council is that many of the deputies, and with reason, feared that they would not be reelected under the new plan; whilst other deputies would lose by it a part of their political influence. I have recently been asked by a Swiss gentleman who has kindly sent to me full information, including a copy of the organic law of the Canton of Soleure, and an official copy, printed in French, of the organic law of the Canton of Geneva. I am also indebted to McCracken and other writers in the *Proportional Representation Review*, and to Professor Vincent's excellent work on Government in Switzerland.

cal influence. Strong and successful resistance was therefore made."

And he adds:

"The progress of proportional representation is for the present arrested in Switzerland, but the movement will begin again later. Just now other questions take precedence of it and hold public attention."

Some words of that veteran proportionalist, Professor Ernest Naville, of Geneva, are *apropos* in this connection. He said:

"The delay in securing the reform is easy to explain. It has to combat inveterate mental habits. The principle that the majority rules,—that is, that the final decision shall rest with the majority,—is applied by an erroneous process of reasoning to the elections of representatives—which should be proportional to be just. It requires a long time to destroy this grave confusion of ideas and to rend the veil which habit has woven to prevent seeing the truth. The reform has also to fight against the spirit of party, against partisans, and against the sum total of inherited habitual party conditions."

The Swiss are conservative in their methods and make haste slowly. The proposal to nationalize the railroads was rejected the first time it was submitted to a vote of the people; but they approved it the second time.

Mr. Jamin gives the following opinions, based on the Swiss experience:

"Proportional representation diminishes the power of the legislator and places him directly in dependence upon his constituents. On the other hand it confers upon each deputy a greater liberty of action in relation to the political groups numerically more important. Thanks to this reform, it will be difficult for cantonal councils elected by the proportional plan to obstruct the referendum and initiative. Men really elected by their constituents, and not by occult nominating

committees, will naturally feel impelled in certain circumstances to seek in the popular vote a confirmation of legislative action.

"In the Canton of Ticino (sometimes called 'Tessin') proportional representation has contributed to the pacification of the public mind.

"In the Canton of Neuchatel, where the proportional plan has worked especially well, the impression produced has been excellent and it is admitted that its results have realized a great progress as compared with the old system.

"With proportional representation in force, the inferior political groups can conserve their autonomy and are no longer obliged to make terms with the superior groups. They are able to introduce their programmes into the deliberative assemblies, and these must examine and discuss them, instead of pigeon-holing them as heretofore. Under the old plan of election those who belonged to neither of the great parties were not represented at all; or, if they succeeded in gaining a few seats, their representatives could only play a humiliating part when they were not mute."

Dramatic and striking circumstances brought about the adoption of proportional representation in the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino. There were two political parties, the ultramontane conservatives in power and the radicals in opposition. In September, 1890, at an election for the cantonal legislature under the old plan of voting, the Conservatives cast 12,653 votes, and the Radicals 12,018; but the electoral districts had been so arranged that 77 Conservative members were elected and only 35 Radicals. Bitter and desperate after many years of disappointment, the rank and file of the radical party rose in insurrection, drove out the government by violence and possessed themselves of the legislature and state offices. Then the federal government intervened and proportional representation was adopted in the canton.

Now the conservatives elect about 50 and the Radicals about 45 members, which is almost a perfect reflection of their voting power in the canton at large. There has been no violence since the reform was adopted.

I shall conclude by a general description of the Swiss free list. It varies in details in different cantons, but in all of them there are large electoral districts and in all of them the elector casts as many votes as there are members (deputies) to be elected from his district. Canton Zug has a notable variation, because there the voter may "cumulate" all his votes upon one candidate, or upon a few; but with this exception the multiple vote plan prevails pure and simple.

Instead of condensing the provisions of the organic law of Neuchatel or Geneva, I shall sketch the outline of an imaginary election on the Swiss free-list plan, which will be more readable and will give as correct an idea of the general working of the method:

You have your large district, returning say seven members to the legislature. For the purpose of this illustration we will suppose that 21,000 voters cast their ballots at the election of these seven members. I shall use round figures to make the matter easily understood. Then, dividing the votes cast by the number of members wanted, we get the "quota," or number of votes necessary to elect any one man; that is, dividing 21,000 by seven shows that three thousand votes will elect one candidate. This "quota" is the main factor in the process of counting and is sometimes called "the electoral divisor."

Now, suppose that you have four parties in the field—the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Socialists and the Single-Taxers. You take the number of votes of each party in turn and divide it by the quota. That shows the number of representatives to which each party is entitled. Here it is in concrete form:

Conservatives polled.....	10,000 votes.
Liberals polled.....	5,000 "

Socialists polled.....	3,100 votes.
Single-Taxers polled.....	2,900 "
Total.....	21,000 "

Dividing the Conservative 10,000 by the quota of 3,000, you get a quotient of three and 1,000 remainder. The Conservatives are therefore entitled to three members. I will deal with the remainders presently. Dividing the Liberal 5,000 by three, shows the Liberals are entitled to one member, but they have the large remainder of 2,000 votes. The Socialist 3,100 entitles them to one member, and they have a hundred votes to spare.

The Single-Taxers have only 2,900 votes, which is not a quota.

So far we have five members elected on full quotas; namely, three Conservatives, one Liberal and one Socialist. But we want two more members. So we give the other two members to those parties which, in their remainder votes, come nearest to a full quota. The Liberals have the highest remainder: namely, 2,000, so they are entitled to another representative. The Single-Taxers have the next largest remainder, or "unfilled quota," so they are also entitled to a member.

This makes the result of the election as follows:

Conservatives, three members.

Liberals, two members.

Socialists, one member.

Single-Taxers, one member.

In order to deal with one thing at a time, I have omitted any reference to that part of the balloting which decides who are the men to represent each party in the proportions above shown. I now deal with that.

Any party included on the official ballot can nominate, as the candidates of its party, as many persons as there are members to be elected. In practice each party usually nominates one or two members more than its estimated voting strength will permit it to elect.

The ballots show the lists of candidates of each party separately, under the respective party headings. Some methods

allow the voter either to cast a vote for his party without designating any particular candidate, or to vote for the candidate he prefers. Then, in counting, when it is found as above that the Conservatives are entitled to three members, the three men who have the highest number of votes on the Conservative list are declared elected. Similarly the two Liberals highest on the Liberal list and the highest Socialist and Single-Taxer are the elected ones.

A petition of a stated number of electors is usually sufficient for nomination and

to secure a place on the official ballot.

The rough-and-ready method of using fractions of quotas or "remainders" above sketched is not altogether satisfactory, and a better but more complex method called the d'Hondt quota is coming into use. I mention this because Lieutenant-Colonel Curie, of Versailles, once gently took me to task for allowing the inference that the rough-and-ready plan of remainders was the only one used with the Swiss free list.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

THE WOMAN'S CLUB MOVEMENT: ITS ORIGIN, SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESENT RESULTS.

BY ALMA A. ROGERS.

THE MAN who invented the spinning jenny or the sewing machine never in his wildest vagaries dreamed that he was laying the foundation of the woman's club. A truth it is, notwithstanding. A woman's club in our grandmothers' day was a physical impossibility, even had public sentiment favored it. The busy fingers which carded the wool for the family stockings held as their emblem of authority the slender steels of the knitting needle. The fire-glow from the huge chimney danced upon its clicking rods on long winter evenings, and the hum of social visits was punctuated by its musical staccato.

The spinning wheel occupied the post of honor in the lightest corner of the big kitchen, where we love to picture the pretty Priscilla industriously turning the spindle when her thrifty lover came wooing. At the hand-loom the thread was woven into cloth. Then the garments of linen and linsey-woolsey were painfully and tediously put together with the needle. For fancy work our grandmothers traced wonderful patterns of "Rising Sun" and "Fruit Basket" into

the squares of calico or worsted scraps which were brought out for rival workmanship at the quilting bees.

Woman's clubs forsooth! Did some whimsical Ariel whisper that the time was fast coming when toil-hardened fingers would feel the needle of every size and kind supplanted by the gavel of the President or the pen of the Secretary? That a race of women would come upon the scene whom mortal eye had never seen to sew? Did the dames dream that their grandchildren would find the garments for paterfamilias, the trousers for Johnny and their own "tailor-made" ready-to-hand garments at the big department stores? The strings of dried apples and barrels of pickled pork, with bunches of curative herbs, which respectively festooned and solidified the ancient attic, are but a savory idyl from the past. Prepared foods, yea, even the gas-stove and the telephone, have solved the problem of domestic supply.

Verily, the march of mechanical invention has been the emancipator of women. The freeing of their hands has led to the freeing of their minds; and

within the last decade the purely material has become curiously intermingled with a psychic aspect. For through the unfoldment of her mind, woman has demanded an area of soul-growth that would have caused the most expansive granddame to contract. The only recognized limit to woman's sphere at the beginning of the twentieth century is the measure of her capacity. Law, medicine, divinity, all the arts and avocations she claims as hers.

Woman has at last made the fateful discovery that she is an individual, not an adjunct. Therefore, she thrills to the pulse of organization; and lo! the woman's club is born. Not full-panoplied does it spring from the forehead of Minerva, but rather like the tiny seed, which, falling into fertile ground, brings forth an hundred and a thousand fold.

The first club was formed strictly for the purpose of self-culture. It is recorded in the chronicles that it had its genesis among the New England hills, where a circle of women sought to improve their minds by delving into encyclopedias, not daring to believe that their own ideas, being feminine, could be worth while. For several years they toiled faithfully at musty accumulations of stolid facts. But nature has a way of nurturing the tender nursling; and so one day the principle of growth induced these women to throw aside the encyclopedias and the quotation marks and essay to think alone, trusting that mental strength could best be secured by putting their ideas upon their own little legs, however weak and uncertain, than to always toddle along under the supporting crutch of authority.

Once having drunk at the wholesome fountain of mental activity, it was characteristic of woman, through the centuries-long evolution of her emotional nature, that she should wish to carry the draught to others. Thus from the fountain-head of self-culture there flowed in due time the healing streams of altruism.

The club movement of to-day tends with a strong current toward work for

others. Whereas the purpose of the early clubs was intellectual, social and philanthropic in its nature, the order is now reversed and reads philanthropic, social and intellectual. The study class still holds, not so much an end in itself as a preparation for the wider work which is to follow. Household economics, the Consumers' League and the Civic Improvement associations are topics with which every club-woman is rapidly acquiring familiarity.

It is a strange fact which has often been made to support the theory of woman's inherent unreason, that while man long ago reduced his labor to a system, woman has been content to do as her mother before her, except when the masculine genius added some labor-saving invention to the household menage. But to whatever extent this criticism may have been just in the past, it no longer applies. If women's clubs had done nothing more than awaken a widespread interest in the scientific conduct of the household, their right to exist had been well-proven. There is a close relation between the health of the body and the state of the morals. Scientific cookery, wherein guesswork is eliminated by an understanding of chemical laws, proper ventilation, improved methods of plumbing and drainage, in short, everything that touches upon the welfare of the family, are included in the now popular study of domestic science. Though the movement is yet in its infancy, one need not be gifted with prophetic vision to perceive that it means much for coming generations in healthier bodies, better-ordered homes and a saving of time and expense. In scientific phrase, it is a factor in the placing of the home upon a sounder economic basis.

The Consumers' League is a subject of germinal ramifications. It essays to touch upon the greatest problem before America to-day—that of organized labor. Briefly stated, the Consumers' League has for its object the abolition of the sweat-shop system and the maintenance of a

living wage under sanitary conditions. It was organized about ten years ago by a body of women in New York city to whom the actualities of the sweat-shops had been brought home by ocular demonstration. The human race is a solidarity, not an aggregation of unrelated units; and the time is coming when this truth will be clear to more than the few. Behind the bargain counters of garments at less than cost, the loyal club-woman begins to perceive, ghost-like, the disease-ridden, ghastly slaves of the needle, herded elbow to elbow within the narrow limits of a single room, eating, working, sleeping, living, dying, in a horror of filth and misery. This movement has its practical basis, too, as every well-balanced effort must have. Those who flout the emotional side of the picture as exaggerated hysterics, cannot deny that the germs of contagion, possibly death, are hidden in these garments by the fetid breath of distempered workers. If the purchasers of sweat-shop products could be present at the opening of the packing-cases and inhale the accompanying odors, it is possible that justice to the toilers would be suddenly hastened. The plan followed by the League is to grant a label which is used on all products of "fair" establishments; such label being a guarantee to the consumer that rational conditions of labor prevail.

May the movement expand until it gathers within its sheltering arms the poor little white children of the South, who in the cotton-mills stand tiptoe at the looms from twelve to fourteen hours for a daily pittance of ten to thirty cents! Withheld from recreation, deprived of education, are thousands of children between the ages of six and twelve, not one of whom can read or write; and, it may be added in a corollary for the thoughtful, become incapable of learning after a few years spent in the dizzy roar of the looms. Should there not be pause before the effect of this condition upon the future of our civilization?

The third aim prominently placed be-

fore women's clubs is that of civic improvement. The beautifying of private lawns and public parks, the surrounding of mills and factories with grass and flowers and shading vines, the cleaning of city streets and the care of driveways all have a part in this municipal housecleaning. The example of well-kept premises is infectious; a truth which the history of this movement, now already beyond its experimental stage, has seldom failed to prove.

All these interests give vitality to the atmosphere which the up-to-date club-woman breathes. The club is a little world in itself. Women of varied types, temperaments and purposes meet in democratic equality in the club-room. Here is an opportunity for the study of human nature—and its consequent enrichment of the life of the student—never before offered to woman. Has she a talent which has long laid wrapped in a napkin? Here is the place to develop it. The old notions of feminine jealousy and spite do not hold in the modern club. On the contrary, the women are helpful and appreciative of one another. Of course there exists, now and then, the exception which proves the rule. But please remember it is only the exception. Here may be found the woman of broad faith in humanity, the woman whose pure ideals and unflinching courage make for higher living and thinking. The young woman comes, and comes also the grandmother. The busy mother, who by reason of family ties can take no active part in the work, finds time to spend a restful hour listening to the programme, weekly, fortnightly, or monthly as it may chance to be, and carries back a change of thought with the resulting stimulation that puts a fresh joy into domesticity. The collegian brings her culture, the musician her songs, the artist her art, the wise woman her counsel, the woman-of-affairs her energy, and the commonplace woman what she hath. Each lays her gift upon the club altar, and each in turn partakes of the composite incense and is the better therefor. Of

course, there is a reverse side to the presentment. The female politician, the foolish woman who knoweth not when her quiver of offices is full, yes—candor forces the admission—even the slanderer and the busybody are sometimes in the midst. But it is through observing the unfoldment of these varied types and, perchance, being stung by the stinger, that the aforesaid lessons in human nature become valuable.

We live to grow. Conversely, if we are not growing we are not truly living. Growth comes through the lessons gained by experience. Let no woman join a club who wishes to shun such experience and consequent growth. They are as inevitable as the glint of starshine on a frosty night, or the radiance of dawn's flaunting streamers in the east.

With all its lights and shades, the woman's club is here to stay until it fulfills its

present mission as one of the potent factors in the development of the woman of to-day. To-morrow will care for its own. Mayhap the club as we know it will pass away, but only that the spirit of progress which it embodies may take the particular form called forth by the needs of a particular age.

The stirring of woman's unrest may be heard down the ages by the ear placed close to the heart of hidden things. Woman by reason of her environment has developed to excess on the emotional side. Now the infinite law of equilibrium demands a reaction to the neglected intellect. Through the interaction of these two—between the impulses of the heart and the reason of the mind—woman will acquire the perfect poise of noble womanhood.

ALMA A. ROGERS.

Portland, Oregon.

"MART."

BY F. EDWIN ELWELL.

IT IS rare indeed that one finds a desire on the part of a woman to wish to learn the brutal strength of thought in a man, despite the fact that it is this very quality, so despised by the dilettante and feeble art-worker, that is the essential element in the make-up of a great female artist. There is really no sex in art, except that which has been forced upon it by man. When the woman works with vigor and strength, she is capable of wonderful productions because of her intuitive reception of those forces which are called genius. We are apt to feel, because of the soft roundness of the forms of women and the feeble attitude taken by reason of countless generations of slavery to man, that they possess no dominant powers of physique and mind.

An interesting experiment has been going on for three years, between a sculptor,

somewhat known, and a pupil—a woman. When the young lady first entered his studio for actual work, he was standing at the door, and as she stepped over the threshold he remarked: "There is no sex in this studio. The moment you fall in love with me or try any feminine tricks, out you go." There was no Judas politeness about this remark, but it has placed a woman on the right road for our consideration and esteem. Coupled with this remark was another that perhaps has done as much good in establishing a right attitude toward art.

"There is no reason to fear anything in this world, least of all the clay you are working with. See with your own eyes, and make what is in your own mind, regardless of what others have made. Fear is the beginning of the end in an artist's career, and the cause of woman's

mediocrity. Do not fear your master, do not set him up on a pinnacle to worship in a stupid, feminine way. If he speaks the truth to you and you feel that it is the truth, then work out this truth in your own mind and into the clay; if he speaks falsely to you, to pose as a great master or great sculptor, do not be guided by his faults, but by his virtues, and try to see the virtue of his truth without connecting his personality with it.

"When you chop clay or wash the floor, remember that it is to be as well done as your modeling, so that you get into the habit of doing work thoroughly, and not shifting your real hard work on to some assistant, and letting him do both the brain and the labor work.

"It is easy to tumble into the factory methods of the modern merchant sculptor, but you, 'Mart.', be strong, and remember that no great work of art was made by delegating your own honest work to some one else. Do not let your master do your work for you. It is better that it should be bad, but honestly yours, than to have it made by another for your vain self to believe that it is yours."

Among the first things taught this slip of a girl was to say something forceful with all the power of her soul; to break up her bad work as regardless of it as though it had been some evil thing, and straightway to forget it.

It was wonderful how this teaching of courage and animal power, instead of weak politeness of attitude toward one's art, lifted this young woman out of the commonplace, and made her as interesting to teach as a man.

It was very hard work at first to teach such brutal things to a refined nature, and yet, well as the master knew that it was possible to be misunderstood and even disliked, the temptation to try and strengthen the side apparently lacking in all art work by woman, was too great to let pass, and each day she was "rough-housed" much as one would a boy. She finally saw what was intended, and though she said nothing she set to work—hard work—to

try and drive away feminine timidity, and to attack her clay with a boldness and vigor that was truly delightful to one who had regarded women as a nuisance in studio life. Two other women from Washington fell down under this brutal attack on their minds and they are to-day doing nothing, having been absorbed in an art-school where the clever men who have invested in this enterprise find it a paying investment, but as yet have not turned out a single artist of note. "Mart." soon found that there was nothing in the ordinary art-school for her, that she must become an apprentice in the studio of some man who was actually doing sculpture that had a big quality about it, and one who loved to work because it was part of the life of art. Then, too, she wanted to get nearer to the real artist, to feel his daily life, and to take in that something one cannot teach, cannot impart to another human soul; and yet that something can be gained from the mental atmosphere of any one who is truly honest and sincere in his work.

It was hard for "Mart." to get rid of her innate mother-nature and that beautiful loyalty to anything a woman may create, whether it is a full, strong, powerful son, or a wretched cripple. Her mother-love will fondle and cuddle the weaker thing, and be entirely oblivious of the whole world. But in art the woman may become as brutal as a man, and immediately destroy all that is not well-formed and great in character. She may rise to the strong moments of a man when he says something forceful and destroys and forgets a work that he has labored on without success. Only a great mind in a woman can see the absolute necessity for this brutality of attitude.

"Mart." had watched with keen eye the studied politeness and petty manner of some others who were teaching, and she saw that what they gave had no force in it, no truth, nothing but a cunning appeal to their pupil for adoration. "This," she said, "does not give me anything. I cannot work, there is nothing to inspire me. But

you, Master, are so original and strong, so full of the wonder of your profession and the truth of it all, that I feel stirred up like a storm and equal to accomplish anything when you come in; and then a calm comes over me when you are gone, and I feel that you have been honest with me, have taught me some great principle."

The teacher knew that it would be impossible to destroy the eternal woman in one so well born, and no attempt was made to do this. But he also knew that if this woman was let alone and not strengthened on the sides most necessary to her profession, she would become one of the thousands who are of little use in the art life of America. He did not want her to continually push her sex into the arena of the studio life and there demand protection for her own faults. He wanted her to see her faults herself and to be her own best critic, and to love only that which was strong, not pretty; for pretty art is well enough for a department store, or for those who are eternally commonplace, but great art is strong vital, pure, ennobling, and lifting the race far higher than creeds or ethics,—both being intangible things—while a great statue can be set up where the world can see it and one may sit in contemplation of a work of genius.

One of the greatest sonnet-writers that this country ever had, was a student in the same studio for several weeks, after she was seventy-five years old; she, too, had tried the popular school method, and the politeness of the insincere teacher who wanted her money far more than to teach her to rely on her own talent for that power to work one must have to accomplish anything good in art.

The same brutality of attitude was taken by the teacher, and the same feminine resentment was observed at first, until one day, with much force and vigor, she, at seventy-five, made a most astonishing result in a copy of a head exposed in the Paris Salon. Some time after she wrote a friend: "Oh, I am so happy! I am in love again! I have learned to work

better in three weeks than in all my long life, because, dear friend, I have found some one to tell me the brutal truth, and it is so refreshing; it gives one such a broad outlook and destroys fear, that awful thing in woman's nature."

Until the hour of her death this grand character never forgot the lesson taught by this brutal, yet art-loving master.

The washing of the floor and the pounding of the clay was to break the conceit of this girl; for man or woman is given conceit for but one purpose, and that is that it shall be broken so that the mental eyes may be open to great truths. Some students are so fond of their vanity that they will not listen to aught against the feeble things that they have made. These never become artists, but are often found as members of art clubs and societies for the reform of art, the easy dupes of some clever art critic who knows how to organize and to take away this kind of art student's money.

"Mart's" hands, when she first appeared at the studio, were much like those jelly-fish arrangements that are of so little use in society, and are so expensive to maintain in idleness, but now her hands are strong and fine tools with which she can master the clay and put up great masses so that she can interpret her inspirations in a big way. They are the hands of a woman who is doing her own thinking and can destroy as well as create. They are the servants of a brain that sees clearly the larger forms in art, and they do not tire in the search for those forms.

And now, at nineteen, she makes a statue called "Motherhood," and no other hand has touched it. None but her own strong hands have labored on that clay, have torn and demolished part after part, to rebuild in better form, with greater meaning, with more vitality.

It is a wonderful statue, not unlike Rodin in treatment, but yet thoroughly original, and her own: it has the stamp of her own individuality.

It is not difficult to feel the intensity of



Photo. by H. E. Lawson, New York.

"MOTHERHOOD"

"MART."

THE ARENA

"A LIFE STUDY"



the mother-love in the way the woman holds to her breast the infant babe. Her left hand is drawn away by a serpent, as though an evil tendency had for a moment taken possession of her; but the mighty mother struggle is seen in the head thrown back and the eager intensity of expression, as she tries to cover with her body the infant from the harm of the world.

What a lesson for humanity, for those weak, useless women who deliberately murder their young, or consign them to the care of inferior or immoral servants so that they can have time for those useless things of society. Is it not a wonderful statue that teaches, without words, the grandest truths of the universe, "Motherhood"? And yet a weak female artist, assisting a weaker teacher, said, "What a silly subject!"

The experiment has succeeded, and the brutal, strong master is now known to be the kind and affectionate friend, who by a longer life could see further into the future of the pupil than she or her friends.

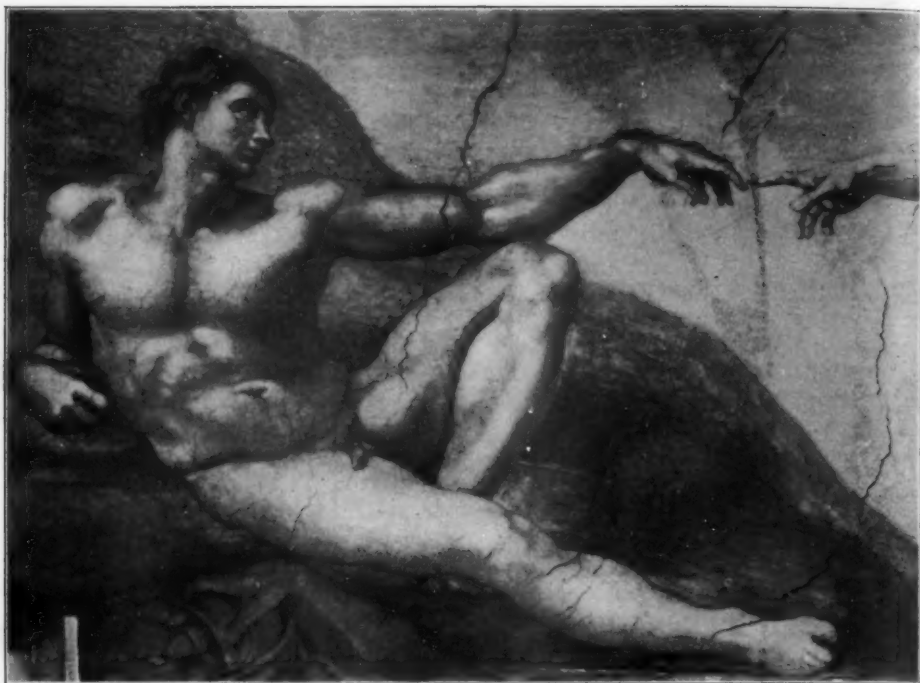
That apparently natural fear in the mind of woman is the result of countless years of slavery to man's mind and superior brute force. He, the more powerful, has been the more conceited about his attainments; and she, the mother of us all, in her mother-love has forgotten to be brutal in her strength, to see things in masses; and in the crushing process she may have forgotten to love greatness more than prettiness, character more than politeness, the powerful and the true more than soft and useless. Many a great soul has been lost to usefulness in this life by always forcing the moral code in front of the spiritual life.

Virtue is as much a mental attitude as one of the body. The person who is virtuous only in body has not gone very far, but he or she who is virtuous in thought has the key to all true greatness, for the mind can then grasp the good and the great in all mankind.

And so "Mart." has taught us a lesson, both by her own sweet, strong, pure life, and in her statue of "Motherhood." Think you that she is any the less a lady because she has learned to use the strength and handling of the man, or that she will the more easily be led to the evil of life? She has risen to the plane of mental virtue through the "rough-housing" of the masculine mind, she has a wider view of life and is in no fear of man or of her clay. Are not these great qualities for one so young? Is it not a priceless virtue to have conquered fear of her bodily nature, and to have found out that not all men regard woman as a common prey? Greater sculpture would come into this world, and greater souls, if woman could set aside her fear, her morals, and see with wide open eyes the great truth that has been blazed by those who know that there is no sex in art; that it is as universal as is truth, and as broad as the rays of the rising sun; that it belongs not to man alone, but to the two natures in man—the female in the masculine and the masculine in the feminine,—the twin children of the universe. Not one above the other, but hand in hand they support and comfort each other, in the work of this life, the man giving of his strength and force, and she giving that priceless "Motherhood" of ideas and inspirations.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

New York, N. Y.



Michael Angelo, Pinx.

ADAM (DETAIL OF "THE CREATION").

USES AND ABUSES OF ITALIAN TRAVEL.

By CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE READING public is growing somewhat restive under the ever increasing output by litterateurs and artists of rhapsodies on Italy. The world of these gifted creatures is so little our world and their language so unlike our language, that we doubt sometimes whether they are sincere, whether all the words they so skilfully marshal represent definite realities or are used merely to produce a certain hazy literary effect.

What, that is real and valuable, has Italy to give to the average man, to the artistically uninitiated, to those of us who are neither professionally enthusiastic over such matters, nor constitutionally liable to those emotions which we are told we ought to feel?

To the average traveler who in a few short months toils painfully and ignorantly through the galleries of Europe, there comes little but a weariness to the flesh and a drying of the bones. There is no sadder sight even in Italy than to watch a horde of exhausted fellow-countrymen spending time, money and splendid American nervous force at this comparatively valueless, pleasureless and soulless grind. The greatest benefit to be derived from such a trip is the sloughing off of that awestruck sense of inferiority and incompleteness which some of us are feeble enough to feel until we can say to ourselves: "At last I have seen and touched the wonders of the world!"

It is contended, and with much force,

that one's first trip abroad is well-spent in getting a bird's-eye view of the leading European countries. However, the qualifying fact must not be overlooked, that the less a traveler tries to crowd into such a trip the more he will get out of it. How infinitely better to receive a few distinct, delightful impressions than a blurred kaleidoscopic mental phantasmagoria of as nearly as possible everything that can be hurriedly scanned in every European country. Moreover, while practically every one can be interested in London and amused in Paris, in the words of George William Curtis: "I begin to suspect that a man must have Italy and Greece in his heart and mind, if he would see them with his eyes."

Upon entering Italy every traveler is confronted by a soul-searching question, on his answer to which depends in large measure the success or failure of his trip: that question is, "What are you willing to omit?" Not in a lifetime can he see everything, and if his stay be limited to a few short months he must be wisely discriminating during those months or greatly disappointed at the end of them. In order to learn to know intimately, at least one small portion of Italy, the most rational plan is to settle down for half the allotted time in one city. With the insight into Italian life and the sympathy with the Italian spirit thus gained, the rest of Italy will prove an open book and can be glanced through, even though hurriedly, with both delight and profit.

Of course, when it comes to deciding which city shall be thus studied at leisure and made the key to the rest of Italy, one can only say as Schopenhauer did when told that the Jews were God's favorite race: "Tastes differ." Venice rising from the sea clad in mystery and beauty, Venice with her unrivaled school of colorists, truly is a name to conjure with. On the other hand, from the standpoint of universal history, present-day politics and comparative art, Rome's advantages are incomparable. And then there is Florence, the home of Giotto and Dante,

of Petrarch and Boccaccio, of Savonarola and Michael Angelo; Florence, whose language, history and art are more truly and consistently Italian than those of any other center of Italian life—Florence, the "Athens of Italy." Undoubtedly it is to Florence one should go to find the nearest approach to a satisfactory expression of the soul of Italy.

On arriving in Florence one is apt at first to be not so much inspired as dazzled and bewildered by the art treasures on all sides. Every church, hospital, orphanage, monastery or municipal building is crowded with priceless frescoes and adorned with inimitable creations in marble and bronze. On every crumbling wall or ceiling where there were a few square yards of available space, one is amazed to find a complete history of Israel, the life of St. Francis, or an entire system of philosophy given with a dramatic power, an emotional intensity and a beauty of coloring which ought to make a direct appeal to the profoundest depths of one's being. As a rule, however, during the first few days this appeal touches no responsive chord in the majority of people. The ideas expressed and the mental attitude involved belong to a bygone age. Before the average man can come to have any real and proper appreciation of Mark Twain's "squint-eyed Madonnas," those primitive yet quaintly charming creations of the Byzantine and early Siennese schools, or even of the poetic productions of the Renaissance, he must rebuild in his imagination the mental world of those mysterious and romantic epochs. This can be done best by dwelling at one's leisure on the annals of old Florence, the legends of her saints, the tales of her warriors and statesmen, the wild and bohemian lives of her artists, the marvelous history of her workmen guilds, the endless discussions of her various schools of philosophy, and the story of the life and death of that greatest of the Florentines, the reformer-prophet, Savonarola.

The most valuable guide-books as sup-

plements to Baedeker are those of the late Grant Allen. Mr. Allen had a strongly developed historical sense and a contagious love of the beautiful. It is easy to forgive and overlook his pet foible—the desire to identify all the saints in each picture. As a hand-book, Kugler's *Italian Schools of Painting*, having no competitors, is a necessary evil. But travelers to-day are particularly fortunate, in having the illuminating little series of volumes on the *Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, by Mr. Bernhard Berenson,—the greatest living connoisseur of Italian art. His books are of unique value, in that they help one to understand the significance of pictures,—to enjoy esthetically their artistic beauties. Lastly there is Ruskin,

the poet-pioneer in the study of Italian art. In spite of the small minds who rail at him, because, coming before the development of modern scientific connoisseurship his writings are full of technical errors, any one who voluntarily goes through Italy without the benefit of the flood of light he sheds on Italian art, is

practically on a par with a man who would refuse to utilize the light of day because there are spots on the sun. With these four writers as cicerones and as much collateral reading as one has time and inclination for, one has no excuse for getting mixed up with the ignorant herd of misinformation dispensers calling them-

selves guides.

To speak of guides is to broach the saddest part of the subject of travel. The hordes of these creatures who haunt the museums, churches and galleries of Europe are made up for the most part of the refuse of the more difficult or more crowded professions—disabled day-laborers, hotel-waiters out of a job, retired cab-drivers, or other unfortunates who live not by their wits, but by the traveling



Botticelli, Pinx.

MADONNA AND CHILD.

public's lack of wits.

One morning a young American art student was enjoying a quiet hour in salon 3 of the Tuscan School in the Uffizi Gallery, which is more attractive to many people than the famous "Tribuna" itself, when suddenly, with much clatter and chatter, a party of Americans surged in,

with a greasy guide at their back. He lined them up, and pointing to Fra Angelico's "Coronation of the Virgin," said in barbarous English: "Zat ees all you

cellis and other priceless pictures?" He coughed and assented dubiously but said that they had no time for them. Just then a man in the party, who, up to this



Giotto, Pinx.

THE ENTHRONED VIRGIN.

need to luke at heere." Instantly the young student sprang to her feet and with blazing eyes said: "What is that you are telling them? Are there not in this room a Lorenzo di Credi, a Pietro della Francesca, a Leonardo da Vinci, some Botti-

point, had kept his eyes glued on his Baedeker, demanded: "What do you say is the number of what-you-may-call-him's 'Coronation of the Virgin'?" As the guide gave the number he checked it off with a pencil in his Baedeker to remind

him on his arrival home that he had seen it and with barely a glance at this one picture, hurried out to "do" the rest of the gallery in the remainder of the allotted hour,—or perhaps half-hour,—it is to be hoped he did n't waste a whole hour in this way.

A guide of a well-known tourist company at Paris, after having conducted a party two-thirds through one of the rooms of the Louvre, explaining about every fifth picture as he went, suddenly stopped, consulted some notes and said: "I beg pardon—you'll please retrace your steps—I've—er—made a slight mistake—I've explained the other side of the room!"

I once heard a guide in the church of Santa Croce

at Florence filling a party of tourists with art history, of his own special brew. He told them that Donatello's "Annunciation" was a masterpiece of Mino da Fiesole; Giotto's glorious frescoes were announced as the work of the school of Fra Angelico, and some dilapidated, almost effaced works of an unknown artist were declared to be the product of Dante Alighieri. At this point,

be it said in their honor, the party struck, and with difficulty refrained from laying violent hands on the ignorant if not innocent offender.

There are several American and English art lecturers in Italy, however, who, in glaring contrast with this race of guides, are entirely competent and more inter-

esting and stimulating to the novice than any book can be.

One afternoon after about a six months' stay in Florence, I took great pleasure in rescuing a friend from the clutches of a guide and pouring into his ears all my newly-acquired information. In briefest outline I traced the slow development of Florentine art from the grotesque imitations of the stiff Byzantine up to the mar-



Raphael, Pinx.

PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

vels of Michael Angelo, illustrating each step with the masterpieces of its epoch. It was amusing to see the look of sullen boredom and confused fatigue gradually giving way to manifestations of delight. From the monstrous caricatures of the earliest Italian artists—to the "Cimabue Madonna" at the Church of Santa Maria Novella, was a great stride—but the advent of Giotto was more; it was a revo-

lution. His work marked the commencement of unimitative Italian art. Next, in the supremely brilliant and tragically short career of Masaccio came the dawn of the Florentine scientific school, with its steady development in the works of his successors, Paolo Uccello, Verrocchio, the Pollaiuolos, Castagno, Veneziano, Baldovinetti and Botticelli, and its maturity and consummate flower in the matchless creations of Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo. After a somewhat careful examination of these great masters we went back to enjoy the charming products of Fra Angelico, the Lippis, Benozzo Gozzoli and others whose works are full of gladness and subtle witchery, but which differ from those of the first-named in not constituting necessary links in the development of the Florentine school. While the story of this development is as simple as a nursery tale, it is many times more full of interest and value than the accounts of wars, murders and intrigues which form the warp and woof of so much meaningless "history." This record reveals the human

soul searching, struggling and slowly achieving a fuller and more beautiful expression of its deepest emotions and highest aspirations.

"I do n't know anything about art but I know what I like," is a phrase which automatically comes to the lips of nearly every traveler when he finds himself discussing pictures with an artist or an art critic. These knowing creatures dread this little prefatory remark as much as a sea captain does that much-abused question of passengers: "Captain, how many times have you crossed?" The story is related of a famous Scotch artist who, on hearing this artistic credo for about the four-hundredth time, said to the charming lady who had last offended: "Dinna say thot, Maam! Dinna say thot—the beasts o' the field ken as mooch!" Whatever professionals may say to the contrary, however, the attitude involved in this



Masaccio, Pinx.

ADAM AND EVE EXPELLED FROM EDEN.

phrase,—“I do n't know much about art but I know what I like,”—is the only rational attitude for a beginner. It is a form of that mental honesty without which any real intellectual, spiritual or esthetic



Botticelli, Pinx.

ALLEGORY.

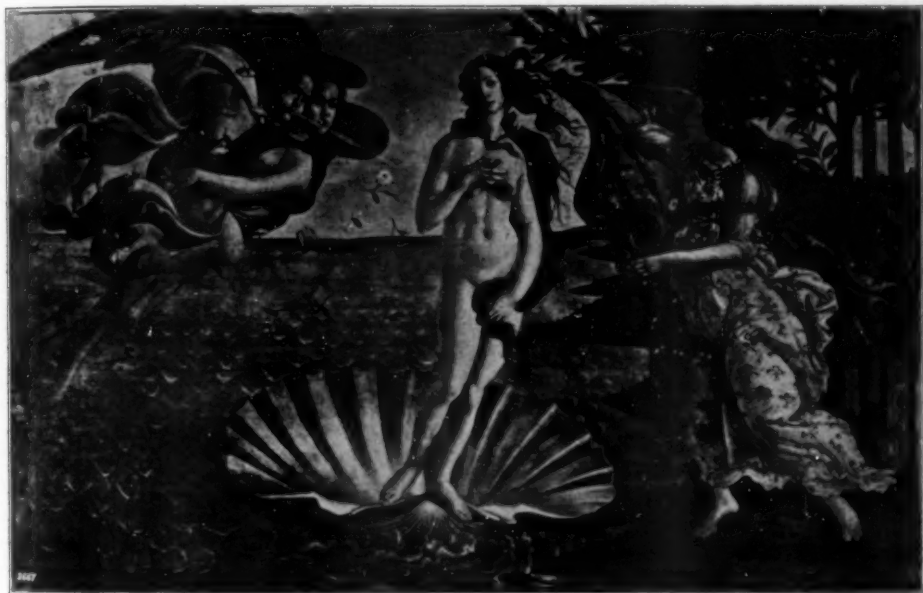
development is an utter impossibility. If one has even bad taste to start with and will work honestly, that taste can be cultivated. If on the other hand one merely goes into "mechanical raptures over known masterpieces," one can remain a life-time in Italy and memorize the names of all the great artists, together with the points of beauty of all the great pictures, without ever feeling one thrill of genuine esthetic delight or receiving the slightest emotional uplift. The only possibility of real growth lies in being true to the highest that is in us, however low that may be. The best advice to a novice is: "If Ghirlandajo's work is more beautiful to you than that of Botticelli, say so. Do not, however, stop at that; study the criticisms of the world's great experts; try to look at Botticelli and Raphael and Michael Angelo from their standpoint; try to see the world of beauty they see and to feel the emotional stimulus they feel. Eventually in this way you are certain to succeed in perceiving the beauties to which your nature is capable

of becoming responsive. Study Ghirlandajo also from their point-of-view, and it is probable that soon his shortcomings will become apparent. By knowing and enjoying without shame what you really like, yet ever striving to learn to like the best, and in no other way under heaven, is the development of your esthetic nature possible."

While standing one day before Botticelli's "Birth of Venus," one of the most beautiful creations of the human imagination, a young American tourist and his wife came in. After a moment's inspection of the picture, the young woman made some remark about the "shameless" nude figure of Venus, whereupon they turned on their heels and stalked out. I could scarcely believe my senses. They had totally overlooked all the positive qualities of the picture. The fascinating expression of renaissance feeling, of moral yearning, the stimulating movement of the figures and the marvelous decorative effect of color and line were totally lost on them. One thing and one

alone they saw, a purely negative point—one of the figures had no clothes on. Their conception of art was on a par with that far too common conception of religion which holds up, as a model, the man who does not murder, nor commit adultery, nor steal illegally, nor get drunk, nor smoke, nor read the Sunday papers. Many of us, unfortunately, have forgotten the fine virile religion of David, who committed all these crimes except the last

zen, a young girl a better wife and mother, for having seen and loved and partly understood this bewitching expression of the soul of these past centuries? Will not such study put one out of sympathy with American life? Is it not something foreign to our spirit and injurious in its influence? A little analogy can help us to decide this question. Why do men who never intend to make any possible practical use of higher mathematics, logic



Botticelli, Pinx.

BIRTH OF VENUS.

yet was called "a man after God's own heart," because his aim was always pure and high and his repentance sincere when he fell, and because of his dominant positive qualities of courage, heroism and self-sacrifice. In a virile art or a virile religion the positive qualities always assume a supreme importance. Both are in their decadence when the voice of the critic rises above that of the artist.

Right here the question arises,—after one has studied and enjoyed Italian art for a few months, what of it? Will a man be a better and more successful citi-

zen, a young girl a better wife and mother, for having seen and loved and partly understood this bewitching expression of the soul of these past centuries? Will not such study put one out of sympathy with American life? Is it not something foreign to our spirit and injurious in its influence? A little analogy can help us to decide this question. Why do men who never intend to make any possible practical use of higher mathematics, logic

gradually develop the esthetic and emotional nature, and give to one's thoughts and work a new aroma, a new potency—the persuasive potency of artistic feeling. When once this sense, sometimes called taste, this feeling for beauty, is developed in a human soul, life is no longer the same—it has a new charm and power of fundamental importance. This development in one's nature, like the development in the mind of the scientific spirit or the awakening in the soul of the spiritual nature, henceforth manifests itself, of necessity, in every manifestation of that personality. If one be a writer, it will gradually suffuse his work with a new and subtle power. If one be a farmer, it will transform his surroundings more and more into habitations worthy of a human being. If one be an artisan, it will seek expression in work that rises above the ugly and the commonplace. If one be a wife and mother, it will give to the home an attractiveness, a restfulness, a domestic charm the value of which can scarcely be overestimated. In this way, far from unfitting one for life in America, it can but give to those who have really felt its influence a new and mysterious force which, as it permeates more and more our national life, must dignify and exalt it.

Here it must be acknowledged that some people on returning home from a trip abroad, proceed at once to show their artistic attainments by carping at everything American and ostentatiously writhing in supersensitive horror at our art industry and life in general. It is their misfortune that travel has developed in them, not a sensitiveness to see and enjoy whatever is most picturesque and beautiful about them, but an abnormal ability to search out and suffer from everything that is ugly or crude. Their education has been entirely negative, their development has been one-sided and ludicrous. This is not through any fault of Europe. These same people have doubtless read the Bible and heard

it expounded with the very similar result, that they have arrived at a religious state of exaggerated sanctimonious compunction over the sins of their neighbors. They look at everything in a shallow, egoistic way which makes it impossible for them to appreciate or imbibe the spirit which animates all great art—the spirit of truth and goodness expressed in terms of beauty.

One fact of peculiar significance to Americans stands out large and luminous in the lives and work of all the great masters of Italy,—the fact that supreme greatness is incompatible with hurry and fret. It took Orcagna ten years to make the incomparable marble canopy in the church of Or San Michele, and it took Ghiberti twenty-one years to make the gates of the Baptistry which Michael Angelo declared fit to be the "gates of Paradise." These men only demanded a living and a chance to do their best work, but that alone was immortality. The highest work never has been and never will be done by men who do their work primarily for the money they can get out of it, rather than for the message they can breathe into it. Men whose time is too valuable to work and work over and wait for an inspiration, must turn out hack-work, a loveless unnatural product of hands and brain which, however perfect in technique, is yet a monstrosity. None but messengers from the heart have ever touched and inspired the hearts of men.

One other thing we can learn from Europe, which unfortunately Europe has not yet learned for herself, and that is the uselessness and utter absurdity of seeking lasting satisfaction or happiness in even the highest esthetic delights, *except as infused into and made a part of one's serious duties and labors as a human being.* Beauty is the expression of one's love for one's work. What we love we instinctively adorn. A decoration is an embodied caress. But no art can replace ethical purposes, no skill can sanctify a selfish or impure impulse. The center

and core of life is a love for truth, for goodness and for that beauty which is their radiant garment. Art exercises an influence which is beneficent and can be replaced by nothing else, but when, as among the believers in "art for art's sake"

the attempt is made to make of art a religion—it would be disgusting if it were not so ridiculous, and yet one can hardly say it is ridiculous, it is so supremely pitiful.

CARL VROOMAN.

Geneva, Switzerland.

THE AMERICAN DOCTRINE OF SHIPPING-RIGHTS.

BY WILLIAM W. BATES,

Ex-United States Commissioner of Navigation.

IT IS the teaching of history that contact with the ocean has been highly influential in forming the character of nations—increasing their courage and love of freedom and developing the means of their wealth and power. This is why in every enlightened country the benefits of navigation are fully appreciated. Every people whose territory touches the ocean, its rivers and harbors furnishing sites for towns and cities and abodes of civilization, are naturally blessed in great degree. To other industries they may add shipbuilding, transportation and trade with foreign countries. If well-governed, they may grow rich and powerful on land and sea, and exert much influence on the progress of mankind. But native skill must be applied; shipping must be home-built and home-employed and commerce conducted by citizens, or its natural advantages will do the nation little good. Alien merchants using foreign shipping will not aid very much in developing industries away from home—they work for their own country and flag everywhere they go.

Only one of the larger nations of the earth—the United States of America—has failed for some time to prize and protect a large part of its navigation—that engaged in foreign trade. This part, by a mistaken policy, virtually thrust upon the government by a rival, has long been unprotected and consequently is now an almost vanished industry. It is hoped,

however, that this policy will be soon corrected and that once more the American ship will win her way and enjoy her rights.

In February, 1904, a joint commission of Congress was appointed to investigate the situation of the American merchant marine during the recess and to prepare a bill to meet its demands in a constitutional manner. It was developed that the view of the country favored the re-establishment of our early policy. This called for discriminating duties of *tonnage* and of *tariiff*, as regulations of foreign commerce, the constitution not sanctioning the payment of "bounties" or "subsidies" to the marine in general. Contrary to expectation, the commission reported a "subvention" or subsidy bill, which, however, was not put upon passage, the report in its favor by a majority of the commission being weak and unsatisfactory. It is possible that this measure may be offered at the next session, but is by no means certain of enactment; for ample discussion must show that *its principle is false*, and that unless our present policy shall be *discontinued* there can be no hope for an American marine, no matter how much treasure may be squandered on the experiment.

ADVANTAGE OF SHIPPING POWER.

The relations of national advancement to navigation and commerce are naturally such, that the nations accomplishing their improvement and extension have ever

developed a power of controlling the circumstances of others. An intelligent observation of Sir Walter Raleigh was grounded on this fact:

"Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

The riches of the world do not all reside in traffic, though it is the idea of some commercial countries that, *for them*, the marts of trade are the indispensable possession. Raleigh's nation has paid great attention to his maxim. The mastery of navigation and the command of commerce have been uppermost in the mind of its government in every movement made on land or sea for two hundred and fifty years. The possession of forty-three colonies or dependencies tells a long story of naval power, conquest and accumulation of wealth. Great Britain's command of the sea now begins with the control of shipbuilding; takes root with sure ascendancy in shipowning; branches out with supremacy in underwriting, and is perfected in power by mercantile advantage and the consequent financial rule of debtor nations: *those without shipping*. To her other instrumentalities of domination she adds a great navy.

THE WORK OF SHIP PROTECTION.

The basis for this commanding position—of "Ruler of the Seas"—was laid in a navigation act (1651-60) the most efficacious ever enforced. Its protection to ship employment was absolute. Says a British historian:

"The result of that act transcended the wildest dream of Lombard and Venetian avarice, or the grandest schemes of Spanish and Portuguese conquest. It not only secured to the people who enacted it the greatest share of the world's carrying trade, but the trade also knew its *master* and *followed* with becoming servility."

Following is the principal section of the perfected act which gave England her start as the autocrat of commerce, virtually compelling other countries to follow her example in regard to ship protection:

BRITISH NAVIGATION ACT.

"And it is further enacted, etc., that no goods or commodities whatever of the growth, production or manufacture of Africa, Asia or America, or any part thereof, be imported into England, Ireland, or Wales, islands of Guernsey and Jersey, or town of Berwick-on-Tweed, in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatever, but in such as do truly and without fraud, belong only to the people of England or Ireland, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-on-Tweed, or of the lands, islands, plantations or territories in Asia, Africa or America, to his Majesty belonging, as the proprietors and right owners thereof, and whereof the master and three-fourths at least of the mariners are English, under the penalty of the forfeiture of all such goods and commodities, and of the ship or vessel in which they were imported, with all her guns, tackle, furniture and apparel."

Thus, absolute prohibition protected British carrying with the greater part of the world, while, with the continent of Europe only, differential duties were applied. Necessarily, rival European nations regulated their commerce in view of the English system: prohibitively for their coastwise and colonial trades, as in Spain and Portugal, and discriminatively in duties for foreign traffic. England was not long in following up her navigation law with open warfare on the shipping of the Netherlands, then doing a large share of carriage for other countries. By breaking up these fixed relations, new ones favorable to English trade might be made. In this advancement the navy was the main support. In a few years' warfare the Dutch marine was destroyed. British statesmen said it was to break up

a monopoly of navigation; historians say it was to establish one monopoly in place of another.

ANTI-MONOPOLY OF NAVIGATION.

When the United States of America came into the arena of ocean commerce a new problem confronted England. Under her laws, only her own flag could carry between any of the ports of America, or from them to her ports in Europe. American vessels under the stars and stripes would be excluded from these ports both in America and Europe, if no relaxation were made. This was done, but not by a statute for a number of years. A royal proclamation was issued annually, the ports in Great Britain were declared open, but those in the Provinces and the West Indies were reported closed, *to vessels of the United States*. The governor of the East Indies, then having the power so to do, permitted American vessels to trade there under conditions such as other countries enjoyed.

For the better protection of her shipping, Great Britain refused outright to make any treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States, and to this day *she has made none* except the meager, time-limited convention of 1815, conditioned, at her instance, for the mutual suspension of discriminating duties in *direct trans-Atlantic* trade, securing thus a great advantage. The United States had no difficulty in getting desirable treaties with France, Holland and Sweden, and afterward with other countries, favorable to fair and equitable traffic.

The peculiar course of Great Britain caused a study of the subject of international navigation the world over, especially by American statesmen intent upon securing *the natural rights* of a young and independent maritime nation. What these rights were became matter for serious thought and considerate but determined action. Ambitious schemes, such as ultimately carrying and conducting the commerce of *the world*, were not enter-

tained. Only fair and equitable commerce was wanted—no other appeared desirable.

TRANSPORTATION A PART OF COMMERCE.

Considering the question in its larger aspects, as did Benjamin Franklin and other of our early statesmen, transportation is a part of the commerce between two nations, and in direct trade plainly *belongs* to each country to do; but if one country has not the vessels, and the other has, then the whole transportation manifestly *belongs* to that one and cannot be justly claimed by any other.

While some nations unskilled in navigation have been content to have no shipping and only a *passive* commerce, others qualified to build and sail have been alert to the importance of an *active commerce* carried on by their own vessels. A dependence on foreign shipping, and the payment of freight to vessels of other countries, *creates or increases* balances of commerce against a country. Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest statesmen of our country, said: "To preserve the balance of trade [commerce] in favor of a nation ought to be a leading aim of its policy." Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, said in 1790: "By permitting foreigners to carry our produce for us, in order to pay for the fine goods they furnish us, we have to raise more from the soil by *one-third* than if we carried it ourselves."

Foreign shipping dependence also encounters the disadvantages of foreign wars, scarcity of vessels, high rates of freight and dear insurance, without certainty of service at any cost; hence a national shipping is an *economic necessity* for a maritime people, and absolutely so, to maintain independence and perfect prosperity. Shipless nations often become a prey to the navigating class, as *trade* is always gained to alien carrying nations, while their profits enlarge and grow unfair. The shipless nation, too, is *always in debt, generally backward* and seldom prosperous.

THE TRUE THEORY OF COMMERCE.

Regarding the true theory of commerce, said Rufus King in 1818:

"As all nations have *equal rights*, and each may claim *equal advantages* in its intercourse with others, the true theory of international commerce is one of *equality* and *reciprocal benefits*. This gives to skill and to capital their just and natural advantages; any other scheme is merely artificial; and so far as it aims at advantages over those who adhere to the open system, it aims at profit at the expense of natural justice."

The British system had the fault thus described. The colonists were treated as subordinate to their fellow-subjects; their industries and the use of their vessels being placed under inferior regulations. It was this denial of equality that really caused the revolution of 1776. It was natural, therefore, that an American system of commerce should look to *protection* of some kind, that should even up disadvantages in the *footing of vessels* and conduce to the conduct of "fair commerce" and a just sharing of transportation with the countries with whom we traded. The first two commercial treaties made after the revolution exhibit the care of our early statesmen in this regard. The *right* to protect against inequalities of *footing* in navigation was reserved in the preambles to these treaties both proclaimed in 1783. We quote from that of the Netherlands.

The contracting parties:

"Desiring to ascertain in a permanent and equitable manner, the rules to be observed relative to the commerce and correspondence which they intend to establish between their respective states, countries, and inhabitants have judged that the said end cannot be better obtained than by establishing the most perfect *equality* and reciprocity for the basis of their agreements, and by avoiding all those burdensome preferences which are usually the sources of debate, embarrass-

ment, and discontent; by leaving also each party *at liberty* to make, respecting commerce and navigation, such *ulterior regulations* as it shall find most convenient to itself, and by founding the advantages of commerce solely upon *reciprocal utility* and the just rules of free intercourse; reserving withal to each party the liberty of admitting at its pleasure other nations to a participation of the same advantages."

OUR CONTENTION FOR FAIR WEST INDIA COMMERCE.

After the above-mentioned treaties were made, nearly all our states enacted regulations of commerce—described as "discriminating duties"—for the protection of their carrying trade, being free so to do. When the constitution was formed a *compact* was necessarily entered into, that the duty and power of such protection should be taken over by the Federal government. That is the significance of clause 3 of section 8 of article I. of the Constitution, providing for the regulation of foreign trade. In conformity with the compact and under the power granted, the first Congress, in 1789, took up its duty towards shipping, and in a short time an American marine was under way encouraged and protected in its *employment*. Great Britain was alone in her opposition and antagonism. Herself the best protected shipping nation on earth, a strong believer in her right to keep down rivalry and to monopolize, if she could, the commerce and carriage of the world, she could not tolerate "fair commerce" with a former rebel colony. For twenty-five years the British ministry watched and worked to coerce the American government into an abandonment of ship protection in the trade between the two countries. Finally this was effected after the close of the war of 1812, the West Indies remaining closed. The alternative was to continue the war. Giving way to Great Britain in 1815 initiated a change of system that should never have been made. A most *unfair* commerce

resulted from it. British shipping brought out such goods as our market would accept; then they took cargo for the West Indies; there they loaded for the United States; discharged cargo here, and loading again they sailed homeward bound, having paid no "discriminating duties" for the protection of "Yankee" ships. American vessels could load and sail for a British European port, take in *ballast* and return home. They could not then load and sail to a British West India port under penalty of confiscation of hull and cargo. They paid no discriminating duties, except for lights in the British ports in Europe, but neither could they get the carriage of foreign-owned cargoes with their discriminating duties off; the British merchant freighted the ship of his own flag, for such were the ethics of his philosophy, and the disregard that he paid to the principle of *reciprocal* benefits. Entitled to *half* the transportation of the commerce with Great Britain, the United States could get but *one-quarter*. Entitled to *half* the transportation of the commerce with the West Indies, they were refused *any* of it.

Finding how the convention operated, Congress was not long in resolving to have the ports of the West Indies opened, or the disadvantage of the convention reduced to a minimum. In 1819 it would terminate, but, having other negotiations pending, England had it in her power to compel an extension of time, and this she did for ten years in 1818. In 1818, Congress passed an act to the effect that American ports were closed to *all vessels* coming from ports which were closed to vessels of the United States. In the Senate the vote was 31 to 2, and in the House, 123 to 16. The British policy was "exclusively directed against us," the vessels of other countries being indulged in a free intercourse. In this wrongful policy Britain stood alone, "American vessels being admitted into the French, Spanish, Dutch and Swedish colonies."

NATURAL RIGHTS SHOULD BE PROTECTED.

James Barbour, of Virginia, in an able speech said:

"Vain, foolish, your resolutions to build ships, unless you *protect* your navigation. It is not to the superior fixtures of your vessels, or the ampleness of their supplies, you are to look for victory, but to the number and experience of your sailors. If you suffer the power who looks with jealousy on your rising commerce and with envy on the glory of your navy, to exclude you from the participation of those advantages which *of right*, as being derived from *nature*, BELONG TO YOU, abandon all thoughts of an efficient marine, and withdraw from the ocean."

It was estimated that 138,000 tons of shipping, manned by 6,000 seamen, sailed annually from our ports to the British West Indies with exports to the value of \$6,000,000—a commerce in which we had no participation whatever. Mr. Barbour thus illustrated the case:

"A British ship arrives in the United States direct from Great Britain, with a cargo, unloads in one of our ports, takes in a cargo of lumber, goes to the West Indies, delivers it, and finding freight scarce, she sails to New Orleans, procures a load of tobacco, cotton, etc., and proceeds to Great Britain; here two or three of the freights *belong of right* to the shipping of America, as being *the products* of America. Yet British ships, from the policy complained of, monopolize the whole. An American vessel going from a Northern or an Eastern port with a view to take a cargo for Europe, goes *in ballast* to New Orleans. Even from the colonies in North America vessels are daily entering our ports laden with plaster, fish and the products of their colonies; these are commuted in some of our ports for such cargoes as are wanted in the West Indies, whither they sell or exchange their cargo, and procure a freight in the pro-

duce of the islands. Again, British ships engaged in the West India trade, frequently leave home with cargoes of little value, such as earthenware, coal, salt, etc., come to the United States, procure cargoes for the West Indies, and return home freighted with the productions of the islands; while the American trade is limited to a *direct* trade only with the possessions of Great Britain in Europe. *They return generally in ballast*" [since the convention of 1815].

THE VESSEL'S RIGHT TO CARRY THE
CARGO.

It was not the "colonial system" to which Americans objected, but a new development of the monopolistic policy. On this point Rufus King, a member of the constitutional convention, said:

"Our commercial system is an open one—our ports and our commerce are free to all—we neither possess, nor desire to possess, colonies; nor do we object that others should possess them, unless thereby the general commerce of the world be so abridged that we are restrained in our intercourse with foreign commerce wanting our supplies, and furnishing in return those which we need.

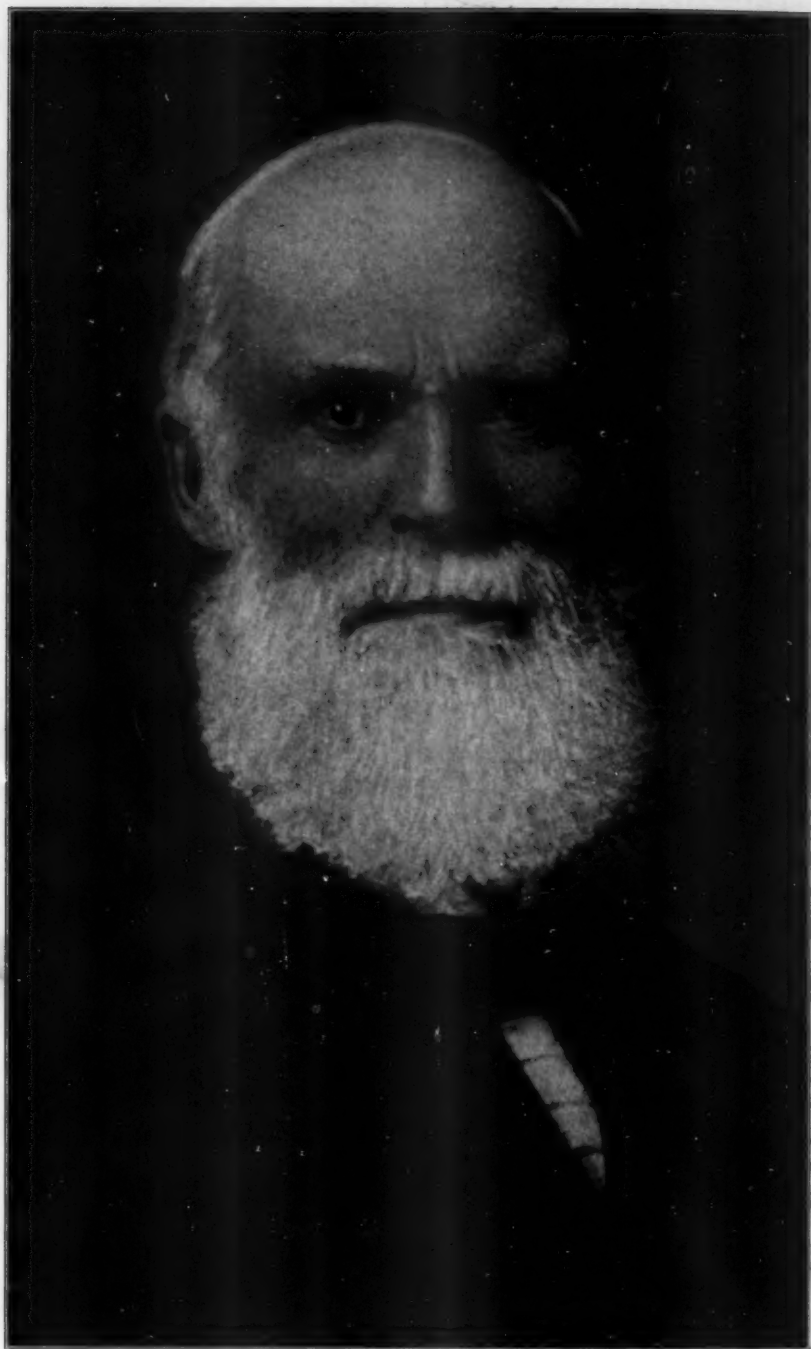
"But it is not to the colonial system, but to a *new principle*, which in modern times has been incorporated with those of the navigation act of Great Britain, that we now object. According to this act no direct trade or intercourse can be carried on between a colony and a foreign country; but by the 'free port bill' passed in the present reign, the English contraband trade, which had long been pursued, in violation of Spanish laws, between English and Spanish colonies, was sanctioned and regulated by an act of Parliament; and, since the independence of the United States, England has passed laws opening an intercourse and trade between her West India colonies and the United States, and excluding the shipping of the United States, has confined the same to English ships and seamen; departing by

this law not only from the principles of the navigation act, which she was at liberty to do, by opening a *direct* intercourse between the colonies and a foreign country, but controlling, *which she had no authority to do*, the reciprocal *rights* of the United States to employ their own vessels to carry it on.

"Colonies being parts of the nation, are subjected to its regulations; but when an intercourse and trade are opened between colonies and a foreign country, the foreign country becomes a *party*, and has a reciprocal claim to employ its own vessels equally in the intercourse and trade with such colony, as with any other part of the nation to which they belong. Governments owe it to the trust confided to them, carefully to watch over, and by all suitable means to promote, the general welfare; and while on account of a small or doubtful inconvenience they will not disturb a beneficial intercourse between their people and a foreign country, they ought not to omit the interposition of their corrective authority, whenever an important public interest is evaded, or the national reputation affected."

RESULTS OF OUR CONTENTION.

As the islands had to have our supplies, we did not lose the trade, which, under their regulations, was carried on by our vessels through neutral ports, the British carrying between these and their own. There were thus two freights in place of one, much to the cost of the islanders. British commerce, and the subjects of the King, suffered under this state of things for twelve years before his Majesty would recognize the principle that American vessels had a *right* to carry *export* cargoes to any extent. In 1830 the drastic course pursued opened the ports which had been closed in 1783. The ports of the world are open to American shipping to-day, but *ninety* per cent. of them might as well be closed to our vessels as to have to run them under a policy such as now virtually excludes them on peril of ruin to owners. And we are told if we undertake to change



WILLIAM W. BATES

this policy, which but for Great Britain we would never have had, there will be dire retaliation leveled at the interests of American farmers. Sentiment so unworthy did not move the patriotic legislators in 1818, led by a farmer of Virginia, Hon. James Barbour. About this point he said:

"The exports from this country to the dependencies in question may be estimated at \$6,000,000 and the question to be discussed is, what will be the influence of this measure upon the price of the article thus exported? If it be necessary to admit that Great Britain can do and will do without them, then it would be in vain to disguise the fact that the price of these articles would diminish, and in so far the value be impaired and by consequence the agricultural interest injured. But if it were revealed from Heaven that this would be the consequence, still he hoped that agriculturists were prepared, when a just regard to the interests and to the character of their country required it, to make the sacrifice which the emergency called for. He represented farmers and agriculturists; his interest was like theirs, and he, therefore, presumed he spoke their sentiments, when he proclaimed his readiness to look across any sacrifice of their interest, when the welfare and dignity of the whole people of the United States demanded it."

ENUMERATION OF SHIPPING RIGHTS.

Thus, as we have seen, and as the writer has elsewhere shown from the proceedings of Congress,* the American doctrine in relation to the foreign carrying trade is this: American shipping has the *natural right* and is entitled,

1. To carry American exports to any country whose ports are open to them.
2. To carry American commerce between the states and other countries, their vessels mutually participating in the carriage of imports and exports, to the extent of *one-half*.

* See *American Navigation*, 1902. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York.

3. To carry *all* the commerce between the United States and another country, *if it has no vessels* with which to do its share of carriage.

4. To carry *all* American domestic commerce—coasting, lake and river.

5. The government of the United States has the *natural right*, and is entitled to regulate its foreign trade in a manner to secure and protect all American shipping rights against the adverse footing, or protective policies, of foreign countries.

6. The government of the United States is under a constitutional compact with the maritime states to perform its duty in the enactment of proper laws for the encouragement and protection of American navigation and to see that engagements with foreign nations involve no sacrifice of the shipping interest of the United States.

THE PROBABLE ACTION OF CONGRESS.

The foregoing principles should and will undoubtedly prevail in any measure that Congress will enact for the recovery of the foreign carrying trade, which is now done to the extent of *ninety-two* per cent. by the vessels of foreign countries. Of the annual importations, about *fifty-four* per cent. arrive by vessels not belonging to the countries of production, *i. e.*, by indirect carriage. This is in consequence of the act of Congress, of 1828, opening our ports to vessels of all countries, with cargoes the production of any or every country, on the same footing at the customs as our own ships, whenever any foreign country would reciprocate, though reciprocation was of no real value. At the time this act was passed, American ships competed in British ports with British ships; in French ports with French ships; in Chinese ports with Chinese vessels, and so on, for freight to the United States. Now, in these, and in all ports whatever, American vessels have to compete with the vessels of *all* nations—a manifold competition, say, of *tenfold* the extent that is prudent or

necessary. It is this excess of competition that the forthcoming congressional legislation should seek to set aside. The conventions standing in the way of this course may all be terminated by giving the notice of one year required, if one country or the other came to believe that the convention operated unfairly and was detrimental. It has been to the interest of many countries to let these conventions stand, and several have devised and applied *other protections*—to the damage of the United States. The act should extend far enough to nullify these; and it may follow that other nations will have to adopt the principles of our act, as this article has set them out.

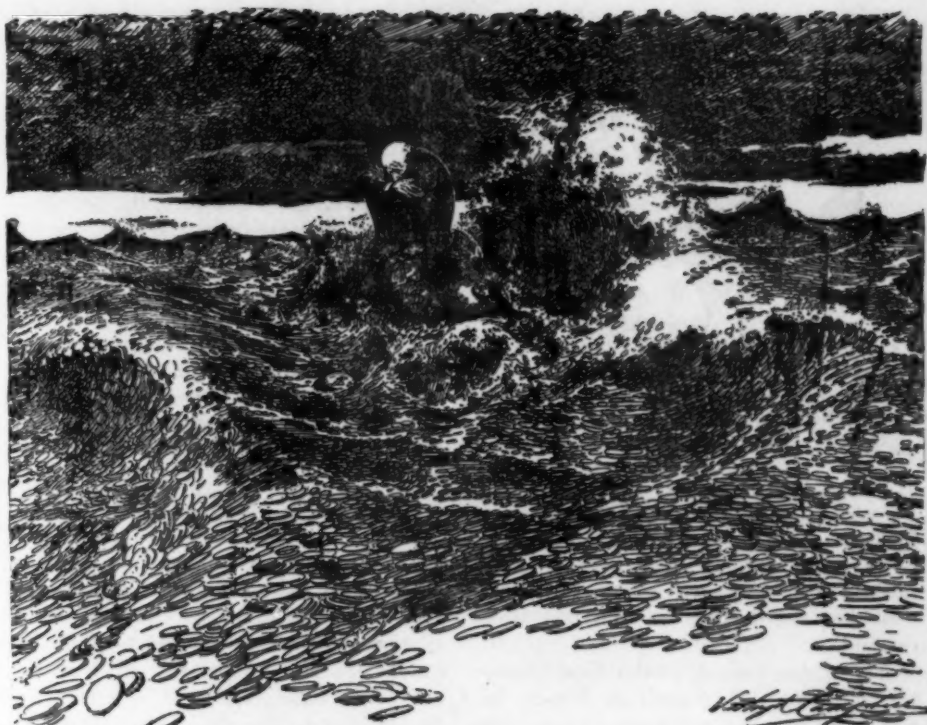
It is not the intention and would not seem to be good policy to lay any extra burdens on *direct trade and transportation*, unless foreign countries take that course, which will not probably happen. Acknowledging the right of all nations to carry their own commerce and standing for the freedom of international intercourse, the United States seeks only justice for her own people in respect to navigation. They are willing to have a fair competition, for instance, between their own vessels and those of Great Britain for the commerce between the two countries and their dependencies, but not for the commerce of the United States with France, Germany, Brazil, China, etc. Moreover, students of the subject have satisfied themselves that there cannot be a *fair* competition with *unequal footing*, and that American vessels cannot survive with *less protection* than others. It is taken as proved in our experience that Great Britain has *advantages* for navigation *in excess* of all other nations, and

that the United States have disadvantages beyond all others. If this were not so, British shipping would not be so redundant as it is, nor American shipping so insufficient. Congress should therefore look mainly to a degree of handicapping requisite to equalize conditions for competition with British vessels. The situation was similar in 1789. Our regulations made then and afterward, judging from history, held the scales of competition with tolerable equipoise; that was the reason the British were discontented and endeavored to get our policy changed—protection removed—as they seemed to prefer *advantage* to *equality*. This course might be expected of a rival who believes it is for *him* to carry the commerce of "the world."

The British have no convention with the United States for reciprocity under the act of 1828. Their act of 1849 met the terms of that act. Though they have prospered greatly and much more than others, from its extravagant liberality, they have never left a stone unturned to find and apply advantages, *fair and unfair*, to accomplish the monopoly of our foreign transportation. Great Britain is now the best protected of all nations, as the United States is the least, as to foreign trade, yet it is feared by some that she will "retaliate" if we compel an equalization of advantages. For this there would be no moral justification, and therefore no such action. A nation that is just will not object to American ship-protection at the present day, especially as nothing could be accomplished by exciting the resentment of the American Republic.

WILLIAM W. BATES.

Denver, Colo.



Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

"MAROONED."

"John D. Rockefeller's plight in these mature years is pathetic. He is paying a terrible price for the realization of ambition. He is forced to stand alone. . . . Isolated? His isolation is almost inconceivable. There is no club that opens its doors to him. No banqueters ever invite him to their board. Art, music, literature, science, none of these offers him escape, for he knows them not. . . . Marooned by public opinion, on his island of gold, in a sea of wealth, he is a solitary, terrible figure of isolation."

FLOYD CAMPBELL: A KNIGHT OF MUNICIPAL HONOR.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE OLD chivalry arose in the night-time of savagery, rapine and brutality and strove to guard, protect and conserve that which was pure, true and worthy. It was individualistic and militant. Its weapons were the spear, the sword and the battle-axe.

The new chivalry, conforming to the changed conditions of civilization, which have largely removed the theater of action

between the forces of light and darkness from the plane of the physical to that of the mental, finds its most effective weapons in the pen, the brush and the pencil. Its knights are less theatric and dramatic, but far more efficient. It is socialistic rather than individualistic in that it concerns itself with the weal of the community, the state and nation, rather than the interests of the individual. Upon its



MUZZLED!!

A cartoon from the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph illustrating Governor Pennypacker's delight over the passage of the Salus-Grady bill.

faithfulness and efficiency civilization waits and the destinies of free institutions depend.

Among the knights of the New Time—the defenders of municipal honor, national welfare and the rights of man—the cartoonists, or the knights of the brush and pencil, whose brains are dedicated to righting the wrongs of the age and the merciless unmasking of the enemies of society, are to-day among the foremost influences battling for the overthrow of the ring, the machine and the corruptionists, who have impaired municipal and national integrity, and brought shame and dishonor on the great republic.

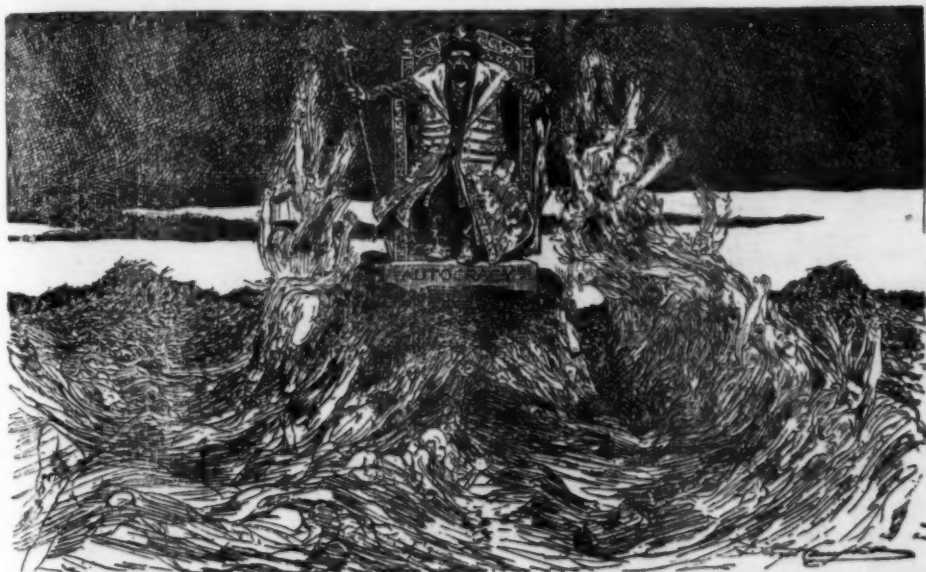
We believe that few people, even among the most thoughtful students of human advance, realize the tremendous influence being wielded to-day by the cartoonists in the American daily press. They in a peculiar manner effectively complement the ringing words of the editors and publicists, fixing instantly and indelibly some striking fact on the minds of multitudes and appealing to the brain of the slow-thinking thousands in the most effective possible manner. Truly, in our day and nation the cartoonist, who is loyal to democracy and to the demands of social

righteousness, is far more than a pictorial historian of the hour. He is one of the foremost influences in the battle of democracy and civilization in the warfare of national life and civic integrity against corrupt wealth and criminal political rings, and it is a fact that should not be overlooked, that, as a rule, the newspaper cartoonists have from the days of Nast been the ruthless and incorruptible foes of graft, corruption, civic dishonor and those reactionary and unrepugnant ideals that privileged interest and short-sighted statesmanship seek to substitute for the old concept of democracy which finds its most luminous expression in the Declaration of Independence. True, in late years, a few papers, such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Judge*, and occasionally *Puck*, have given prominence to undemocratic and obnoxious cartoons which might have been inspired by privileged interests and the beneficiaries of monopoly rights. But, as a rule, the cartoonists of the day have been true to the moral ideals that make nations great and are the vital breath of republics.



Campbell, in Philadelphia North American.

AT THE PALACE WINDOW.



Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

THE RISING TIDE.

II.

In the life-struggles and victory of Floyd Campbell we have one of those inspiring illustrations of success through hard labor, manly determination and dauntless perseverance which in a republic so frequently lifts aspiring youth to enviable heights.

Mr. Campbell was born thirty-two years ago at Port Austin, Michigan. Thence in the early sixties his father, a Scotchman of the clan Campbell of Argyle, had come with a kit of ferrier's tools and a bountiful supply of energy as his assets. He had opened a blacksmith's shop which soon expanded into a wagon and carriage manufactory. Floyd was early sent to the public-schools, and out of school-hours, even when quite young, he worked in the machine department of his father's shop, so that he early developed into quite a harvesting-machine expert. His early life's work was, however, wholesomely varied. In the fishing season he "lifted nets with the French Canadians on Saginaw Bay," spending many hard but happy months in this way.

During the harvesting season he worked in the fields, and so grew up receiving the ground-work of a good education in the public-schools and having his physical body developed by useful and varied toil. A foundation was thus laid for a useful and serviceable life.

Our public-school system, the glory of the republic, is ever fostering wholesome ambition in the aspiring brain of the child, and young Campbell, in common with thousands of other public-school children, dreamed of making an enviable reputation in life in fields congenial to his taste. From early boyhood he had evinced a passion for drawing, and like Homer Davenport, early began to disfigure every fence and dead-wall he passed with crude attempts at pictures. While at school, he spent much time which the teacher expected to be devoted to studies, in miscellaneous drawings and illustrating a book which a schoolmate had written. In speaking of this juvenile attempt as an illustrator, Mr. Campbell recently said:



Campbell, in Philadelphia *North American*.

"AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS."

"I remember my first illustrated book, a poetical effusion by my seat-mate, Winfield Adamson, dedicated to the principal of the school. Those marginal sketches were the pride of my life, but that one volume was confiscated by the principal, and what became of it I could not say; I only know that we were expelled from school."

Without any master to teach the rudiments of art, but by the exercise of that sturdy will which rises superior to obstacles and discouragement and by long and tireless practice, the boy advanced rapidly in his drawing. At length, he

mustered up courage to address a timid letter to Charles B. Lewis, better known throughout the land as "M. Quad."

Frequently man's most efficient service in life is rendered by silent, loving, unselfish aid extended to the striving and ambitious young. Lewis belongs to that large fraternity of fine natures who thus find one of the chief joys of life in helping with kindly words and suggestions those who are seeking to rise in the world. He examined the boy's drawings, and saw unmistakable signs of talent. He also discerned in the boy the presence of the sturdy Scotch spirit, that dogged determination to hang on in spite of discour-

agements until success is won, and he encouraged, counseled and advised the lad. His help was of inestimable value, and Mr. Campbell in speaking of it, said: "Excepting my father, Mr. Lewis gave me more help than any one else. He was a great support."

Acting on the advice of Mr. Lewis, Floyd studied under Joseph Gies at the Detroit Museum of Art and the Academy.

But in 1896 the father died, and circumstances at home compelled the young man to make his own living. Having been taught that all worthy work was honorable, and finding no opportunity to earn a living in his chosen profession, he accepted work as a sign and roof painter at six dollars a week. Later, he secured a position with an engraving company at Lansing at six dollars a week. This meager wage, however, was only paid when the firm happened to be in funds, which, unfortunately for the young man, was rarely the case.

Garnet Warren told us on one occasion that when he first entered the field as cartoonist and illustrator, a fatality seemed to dog his tracks. No sooner would he secure a permanent engagement with a newspaper or journal, and enter his work with the conviction that at last he had a settled position than the publication would suspend or get into financial deep waters. Floyd Campbell had a somewhat similar experience. Finding this small salary at Lansing was only forthcoming at long intervals, he accepted a position at St. Paul, Minnesota, but shortly after reaching his new home, the firm met with financial reverses, and the young artist was compelled to work his



THE CAT—"I HAVE EATEN THE CANARIES!"

Mayor Weaver's recent demand for the resignation of four of the gang ward-leaders was one of the most severe blows dealt to gang-protection, and coming at the time when Superintendent Potter was striving to purge the election list of fraudulent voters, proved most salutary in its influence. Mr. Campbell illustrates this event in this humorous cartoon which appeared in the *North American*.

passage back to Michigan as a dish-washer on the steamer "Monarch" plying between Duluth and Sarnia. Other struggles and disappointments awaited him, but happily they served to strengthen his determination to succeed, and at length we find him in New York on the pictorial staff of the *Herald*. Five months later he was commissioned by that journal to go to Cuba as war artist, a position which he held to the close of the war. In 1899 he went to Philadelphia where he worked for several papers and did considerable book illustrating and some important serious work for the *Booklover's Magazine*. At length he was employed by the Philadelphia *North American*, where his excellent work has attracted general attention, many of his cartoons having been widely copied. In his present position he has become a veritable terror to Governor Pennypacker, the ridiculous and discredited chief-executive of Pennsyl-



HITCHING HIS WAGON TO A NEW STAR.

When Governor Pennypacker was forced to abandon his friend, Boss Durham, by public opinion and the overwhelming revelation of corrupt practices, he promptly named Dave Martin, another machine politician, for Durham's place. This act suggested the above cartoon which appeared in the Philadelphia *North American*.

vania. Pennypacker, it will be remembered, declared on one occasion that Boss Quay was a greater statesman than Webster. He has warred incessantly on the cartoonists, making in this respect the corruptionists' cause his own and reminding us of the shrewd remark of a friend who in speaking of the hue and cry raised by Boss Platt and his henchmen against the cartoonists at the time when Davenport was doing such valiant work exposing corruption and grafting in New York. "When you see a public character," said our friend, "who denounces and assails the cartoonists, you may be sure that he has a record that he is ashamed of, or that he is meditating some evil or discreditable act which he does not want to be pictured before the world in its essential infamy." The signing of the recent "ripper-bill"

at the command of the corrupt Boss Durham by Governor Pennypacker is but one of many shameful acts of this man whose lust for office seems to have obscured any sense of moral proportion he may have possessed in earlier years.

Floyd Campbell has also been a terror to the corrupt ring of Philadelphia. Day after day his telling cartoons, instantly impressing upon the minds of thousands of people some striking fact which the grafters and the gang would give millions to have covered up, have contributed in no small degree to the general moral



Campbell, in Philadelphia Evening Telegraph.

VENTRILOQUIST QUAY—"NOW TELL THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN WHAT THE LAW REALLY IS!"

awakening that promises to redeem the Quaker City. The corruptionists dread the cartoonist's picture more than aught else. He knows that the cartoon will impress his infamy on the minds of tens of thousands who would not read the printed page. "I do not care," exclaimed Boss Tweed on one occasion, "what the papers write about me. My constituents cannot read, but, d—n it, they can see pictures." Then again, some of Mr. Campbell's cartoons cast an ominous shadow before that must prove as disquieting and disagreeable as did Nast's prophetic cartoons picturing Tweed in the striped garb of a felon, arouse the dread and uneasiness of Boss Durham's predecessor in corrupt municipal practices. Take, for example, the picture entitled "The Gang is Committed to Personal Registration," in which the political grafters are represented as signing the prison register. Such cartoons in view of Mayor Weaver's relentless campaign cannot fail to prove extremely distasteful to the evil-doers who have so long shamelessly plundered the city.

The great work that is now being wrought in Philadelphia for civic righteousness under the leadership of Mayor Weaver was, we believe, only rendered possible by the cartoonists of the Quaker City press, and among these knights of the new chivalry Floyd Campbell holds a leading place. His greatest work, however, is not seen in the cartoons of the passing events of the city, but rather in the portrayal of colossal themes that appeal to the imagination of the artist rather than to the peculiar gift of the cartoonist,



Campbell, in Philadelphia North American.

THE TEACHER—"IS THAT ALL? SHOW ME YOUR OTHER HAND!"

The most resolute stand made by the corrupt ring of Philadelphia was against the purging of the list of voters of the fraudulent names which have rendered supreme the domination of the grafters. The first police examination under the instructions of Commissioner Potter resulted in their returning over thirty-one thousand eight hundred fraudulent names, some of the persons on the voting list having been dead about half a century. Amazing as was this revelation, those who understand the extent of the fraud in Philadelphia knew that the thirty-one thousand only represented a portion of the fraudulent vote. The superintendent immediately gave the police enumerators a severe talking to, and offered them one more opportunity to rectify their lists. The desperate attempt of the police to make the list as small as possible was illustrated by two or three effective cartoons of which the above is a fair example.

for Mr. Campbell is, we think, stronger as an illustrator than as a cartoonist in the strict sense of that term. His greatest work shows evidences of real power because it stirs the imagination of the beholder in that strange and subtle way that nature in her beauty and grandeur affect the mind or as music, great oratory and art influence the imagination.

To appreciate this fact, let the reader turn to the drawings, "The Autocrat of All the Russias," "At the Palace Window" and "Marooned." This last pic-



Campbell, in Philadelphia North American.

THE GANG IS COMMITTED TO PERSONAL REGISTRATION.

A suggestive cartoon that is not particularly enjoyed by the corrupt ring of Philadelphia.

ture impresses us as one of peculiar power. We instinctively feel ourselves to be in the presence of one of those great soul-catastrophes that appal the imagination by the momentous character of the tragedy that envelops the victim. As the soul is the finest part of man, the upward impelling influence of life and that which imparts all that is sweetest, finest and most attractive to his being, so to stand in the presence of the lost soul is something far more tragic than to witness the

physical death of a shipwrecked man. In this picture Mr. Campbell reveals at once acute moral discrimination and true artistic genius.

Admirable as is the work of the young artist at the present time, we predict much greater things from him in the future, for he is as yet on the threshold of the thirties and is ambitious, industrious and persevering.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS.—(Continued).

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

Part II. The Pageant of the Throne-Powers—The Denver Utility Trust—Municipal-Ownership.

A GLANCE at the table on the following pages will show why the utility companies of Denver are a practical trust. By the last column it is seen there is a synchronism in their expiring franchises and they are all touched with "a fellow-feeling" for renewals and claims to perpetuities. The last column tells the startling tale that within the next five years something must be done with reference to nearly every public utility in the city. Where the interrogation mark is tentatively placed, it shows the date of expiration on a twenty-years' basis, while, as a matter of fact, the easy council at the city hall has placed upon these particular franchises no *express* limit of any kind. The Tramway Company has long been in the courts claiming this non-limitation makes its franchise perpetual. If this claim is good for the Tramway, then every utility except "water" can enrage the citizens and embarrass municipal-ownership with one or more unending grants of perpetuity. This table does not show any franchise expiring after 1912,—only seven years away. And yet in this brief period, nearly every important franchise in the city must be dealt with. The money-value involved in this issue extends to millions upon millions. To win this fight all the politics of Colorado must be concentrated into the politics of Denver. Hence it is that Mr. Evans, as boss of the Utilities, must, in this supreme period, be the boss of the state. Every voter,—in the mountains and on the plains,—upon this issue must be either with the boss or against him. Every

street-railway corporation mentioned in the table is now absorbed by "The Denver City Tramway Company," of which he is the president, and every gas and electric corporation is a part of The Denver Gas and Electric Company, usually spoken of as the "Gas Company," for short. The Republican and Democratic machines are both thoroughly under his control. This shrewd general and his allied lieutenants have been preparing for this fight for years. His methods never permit of a postponement of the solution of an important issue until the eleventh hour. He may even press the present council into service in the last days of its sitting prior to the election of next June. The Telephone Company might have waited until July 20, 1909, but it preferred to be under cover before the franchise cataclysm of this magic period of seven years fell upon the people, and accordingly it secured a new franchise in 1901. In the last few days, however, a suit in the district court of this county, brought by private parties, challenges the validity of this new franchise and alleges it was procured by fraud. If this claim is made good, even the franchise of 1901 may not save the Telephone Company from the impending cataclysm. It is thus apparent that the Utility-Trust in this issue can breathe with but a single breath,—and Boss Evans draws that breath. Denver is the seat of seismic strain and the eruption may occur at any moment. For a period of seven years, or some material part of it, it seems that the franchise fight in Denver is bound to be the key to the politics of the state.

In view of the foregoing situation, the Denver Municipal-Ownership League sprang into being none too soon. It was organized last June as the result of the

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1906, number of THE ARENA.

NAME OF COMPANY AND KIND OF SERVICE.	ORDINANCE GRANTING FRANCHISE.	DATE OF APPROVAL.	Page of Compiled Ordinances, 1899.	FREE?	ARE STREETS SPECIFIED?	EXPRESS LIMIT.	FRANCHISE EXPIRES— WHEN?
WATER.							
The Denver Water Supply Co.....	No. 40, 1881.	Sept. 15, 1881.	762	Yes	Applies to whole city.....	15 years.	Sept. 15, 1899.
The Am. Water Works Co.....	So. Denver, No. 133 (lease).	Jan. 29, 1894.	—	—	Applies to former South Denver.....	10 "	Jan. 29, 1904.
The Beaver Brook Water Co.....	No. 26, 1887.	June 30, 1887.	787	"	Applies to 6th Ward for fire purposes.....	20 "	June 30, 1907.
The Citizens' Water Co.....	" 119, 1889.	Nov. 22, 1889.	826	"	Applies to whole city.....	20 "	Nov. 22, 1909.
The Denver Water Co.....	" 44, 1890.	Apr. 10, 1890.	845	"	Applies to whole city.....	20 "	April 10, 1910.
GAS.							
Denver Gas Co.....	—	Jan. 10, 1868.	728	"	No.....	20 years?	Jan. 10, 1888? Re- pealed Sept. 4, 1888.
Colorado Coal & Gas Light Co.....	—	Sept. 4, 1868.	729	"	" "Any street" desired—not specified.....	Life of Co.	March 28, 1903 (?)
United Gas Improvement Co.....	" 15, 1883.	Mar. 26, 1883.	762-3	"	" "All streets and alleys"—not specified.....	None.	No limit.
United Gas Improvement Co.....	" 94, 1884.	Aug. 11, 1884.	766	"	" "All streets and alleys"—not specified.....	"	Aug. 11, 1904 (?)
Peoples' Gas Light Co.....	" 16, 1887.	Apr. 11, 1887.	783	"	" "All streets and alleys"—not specified.....	"	No limit.
Denver Petroleum Co.....	" 37, 1891.	Mar. 27, 1891.	900	"	Yes—Applies to whole city.....	20 years.	April 11, 1907 (?)
Denver Consolidated Gas Co.....	" 128, 1891.	Mar. 16, 1891.	921	"	Yes—Applies to whole city.....	20 "	March 27, 1911.
ELECTRIC LIGHTING AND POWER.							
Colo. Edison Electric Light Co.....	" 13, 1883.	Mar. 24, 1883.	761	"	.....	None.	March 24, 1903 (?)
Denver Electric Illuminating Co.....	" 2, 1887.	Jan. 31, 1887.	779	\$5000	.....	"	Jan. 31, 1907 (?)
Peoples' Gas Light Co.....	" 16, 1887.	Apr. 11, 1887.	800	Yes	.....	"	April 11, 1907 (?)
Denver Light, Heat & Power Co.....	" 33, 1887.	Aug. 13, 1887.	788	No.	Any street in city. In all cases when there is an average of six consumers per block.....	"	Aug. 13, 1907 (?)
South Side Electric Co.....	" 37, 1888.	June 8, 1888.	793	Yes.	7th Ward.....	"	June 8, 1908 (?)
Western Electrical Construction Co.....	" 88, 1889.	Sept. 10, 1889.	815	No.	.....	20 years.	Sept. 10, 1909.
Western Electrical Construction Co.....	" 94, 1890.	June 25, 1890.	872	No.	.....	20 "	June 25, 1910.
Western Electrical Construction Co.....	" 95, 1890.	June 25, 1890.	882	Yes.	.....	20 "	June 25, 1910.
Denver Equitable Co.....	" 30, 1891.	Mar. 26, 1891.	895	"	Yes—17th street and certain alleys.....	20 "	March 26, 1911.
Denver Consolidated Electric Co.....	" 100, 1891.	Aug. 13, 1891.	918	"	Yes—To conduct water by pipe to their plant from Mill Ditch along 6th and 7th streets.....	20 "	Aug. 13, 1911.
TELEPHONES.							
The Colorado Telephone Co.....	" 71, 1889.	July 20, 1889.	804	"	.....	20 "	July 20, 1909.
TELEGRAPHS.							
American District Telegraph Co.....	" 50, 1890.	Apr. 17, 1890.	859	"	Yes.....	20 "	April 17, 1910.
Postal Telegraph Cable Co.....	" 110, 1890.	July 14, 1890.	884	"	Yes.....	20 "	July 14, 1910.
Postal Telegraph Cable Co.....	" 108, 1892.	Dec. 21, 1892.	937	"	Streets and alleys named, ending at Times Bldg., 1501 Lawrence st.	20 "	Dec. 21, 1912.
Western Union Telegraph Co.....	" 25, 1893.	Mar. 17, 1893.	940	"	Yes.....	20 "	March 17, 1912.
STEAM HEATING.							
Denver Steam Heating Co.....	" 2, 1890.	Jan. 5, 1890.	744	"	.....	None.	Jan. 5, 1900 (?)

NAME OF COMPANY AND KIND OF SERVICE.	ORDINANCE GRANTING FRANCHISE.	DATE OF APPROVAL.	Page of Compiled Ordinance, 1898.	FREE?	ARE STREETS SPECIFIED?	EXPENSE LIMIT.	FRANCHISE EXPIRES— WHEN?
STREET RAILWAYS.							
Denver Elect. & Cable Ry. Co.....	No. 3, 1885 as am'd by No. 2, 1886, No. 28, 1888.	Feb. 6, 1885.	772	Yes.	No—Blanket franchise.	None—claimed as perpetual.	Feb. 6, 1885.
Denver Cable Ry. Co.....	No. 15, 1887.	Apr. 9, 1887.	781	"	No—But cable power only to be used, thus it is now useless.	None	April 9, 1907 (?).
Denver Tramway Co.....	No. 20, 1888.	May 2, 1888.	791	"	Yes—15th, Colfax and Broadway—refers specifically to First or distance above, approved Feb. 6, 1885.	Reserved st. from Jan. 1, 1889 for construction of Cable Ry. thereon.	May 2, 1888 (?).
Denver City Cable Ry. Co.....	" 36, 1888.	June 4, 1888.	791	"	No—Blanket, except where excluded from 15th, Colfax and Bldwy.	None.	June 4, 1908 (?).
Colfax Ave Ry. Co.....	" 38, 1890.	Feb. 19, 1890.	844	"	Yes—Colfax, east of York street to city limits.	20 years.	Feb. 19, 1910.
Denver Tramway Co.....	" 32, 1890.	Feb. 12, 1890.	840	"	Yes—Lawrence, South Water, Univ. Park, Curtis street, 22nd ave. and part of Stout street to city limits.	20 "	Feb. 12, 1910.
West End Street Ry. Co.....	" 67, 1890.	May 14, 1890.	859	"	Yes—Fairview and Goss to Kitchener's, Juliana street to northern limits and Humphrey to eastern limits.	20 "	May 14, 1910.
Denver City Elec. Ry. Co.....	" 138, 1890.	Nov. 25, 1890.	886	"	Yes—17th st. to Stout st., Argo, 85, 11th, 11th ave. and Harmon lines.	20 "	Nov. 25, 1910.
Denver Tramway Co.....	" 139, 1890.	Nov. 25, 1890.	886	"	Yes—Lower 15th street to city limits.	20 "	Nov. 25, 1910.
Denver Tramway Co.....	" 45, 1891.	Apr. 9, 1891.	896	"	Yes—Broadway, 15th street to No. Denver Loop, Colfax, 15th ave.	20 "	Apr. 9, 1911.
Denver, Lakewood & Golden R. R. Co.	" 41, 1891.	June 17, 1891.	913	"	Yes—22nd street, between Lawrence and Curtis streets.	20 "	June 17, 1911.
Denver Tramway Co.....	" 48, 1891.	July 8, 1891.	913	"	Yes—26th ave., Franklin to Williams street.	None.	July 28, 1911 (?).
Metropolitan Ry. Co.....	" 115, 1891.	July 28, 1891.	914	"	Yes—30, Tremont, 19th ave., 234th ave., and Clarkson street lines.	20 years.	Oct. 9, 1911.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.....	" 127, 1891.	Dec. 5, 1891.	914	"	Yes—Extension of Harman line to city limits on 3rd ave.	20 "	Dec. 5, 1911.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.....	" 42, 1891.	Dec. 5, 1891.	925	"	Yes—34th ave. from Franklin to Colorado Boulevard.	20 "	Dec. 5, 1911.
Frank R. Cook.....	" 42, 1892.	June 10, 1892.	925	"	Yes—40th ave. from Williams to Josephine and north on Josephine to city limits.	20 "	June 10, 1912.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.....	" 48, 1892.	July 15, 1892.	932	"	Yes—Part of Loop on 15th street between Arapahoe and Lawrence.	20 "	July 15, 1912.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.....	" 62, 1892.	Aug. 31, 1892.	933	"	Yes—From 15th st. on Platte ave. to Agate ave. line in No. Denver.	20 "	Aug. 31, 1912.
Metropolitan Ry. Co.....	" 75, 1892.	Oct. 31, 1892.	936	"		20 "	Oct. 31, 1912.
RAILROADS.							
Jno. Monat Lumber Co.....	" 128, 1890.	Dec. 6, 1890.	836	"	Yes—Across Blake street at 26th street. Broadgauge.	20 "	Dec. 6, 1909.
Ringham, Tague & Co.....	" 11, 1890.	Jan. 16, 1890.	838	"	Requires Railways to build viaduct across tracks on 16th street.	20 "	Feb. 11, 1910.
Denver, Utah & Pacific R. R.....	" 31, 1890.	Feb. 7, 1890.	840	"	Yes—Across Market street at 3rd street. Broadgauge.	20 "	June 7, 1910.
Denver & Santa Fe Ry. Co.....	" 80, 1890.	June 7, 1890.	871	"	Yes—Across Lyon and Page streets and across "Slinger's Ditch" street to Depot and to Burl. and Denver tracks.	20 "	Oct. 22, 1910.
Denver, Lakewood & Golden Ry. Co.....	" 130, 1890.	Oct. 22, 1890.	885	"	Yes—Across certain streets.	20 "	Oct. 22, 1910.
Denver, Apex & Western Ry. Co.....	" 14, 1891.	Feb. 5, 1891.	893	"	Yes—	20 "	Feb. 5, 1911.
Denver, Leadville & Gunnison Ry. Co.	" 36, 1891.	Mar. 26, 1891.	897	"	Yes—Alley between 5th and 6th sts. and Lawrence and Curtis sts.	20 "	Mar. 26, 1911.
E. J. Binford.....	" 52, 1891.	Apr. 14, 1891.	905	"	Yes—Switch on 40th ave. connecting with U. P. tracks.	20 "	Apr. 14, 1911.
Denver, Utah & Pacific Ry. Co.....	" 102, 1891.	Aug. 25, 1891.	919	"	Yes—Switches to yard on Hartford street.	20 "	Aug. 25, 1911.
U. P., Denver & Gulf Ry. Co.....	" 44, 1892.	July 6, 1892.	931	"	Yes—	20 "	July 6, 1912.
	" 74, 1892.	Oct. 14, 1892.	934	"	Yes—	20 "	Oct. 14, 1912.

union of two voluntary groups of citizens interested in the subject. They appointed a joint committee to unify the movement and to recommend permanent officers.* Its report was unanimously adopted, and the league then became strongly officered as follows: John A. Rush (of "Rush" amendment fame), president; T. B. Stuart, Mrs. A. M. Welles and Otto Thum, vice-presidents; John W. Springer, treasurer; Richard Wolfe, secretary; advisory committee, Ben. B. Lindsey, Charles W. Cochran, Helen L. Grenfell, Edwin Van Cise, Edward Keating, J. B. Belford, J. R. Herman. Its declaration of principles is as follows:

"The municipal-ownership of public utilities, due regard being had at all times for the best interests of the people; the acquisition of the existing plants at a fair compensation, and in case purchase at a fair price cannot be had, then the city shall construct new plants; and we demand the immediate acquisition by the city of the Lacombe electric street-lighting plant."

The president appointed the following judiciary committee for the league: J. Warner Mills, James H. Blood, Horace N. Hawkins and Guy Leroy Stevick. The league is composed of earnest men and women regardless of politics, and the responsibility resting upon it in the impending franchise crisis probably vastly exceeds that of any other voluntary society ever formed in the state. It needs and invites the moral courage of the best citizens we have. In its good beginning there is hope of good stewardship to the end. The still-hunt method of these corporation marauders is now thoroughly exposed, and their cunning effort, through a truckling press, to postpone organized agitation and action until the immediate time of the expiration of the franchises is wholly discredited. The issues are made

and the alignment is making and the ferment of these issues in Denver will for years be the political ferment of the state. The sachems of the Democratic party, led by Senators Teller and Patterson, recently met in council in this city and, despite the opposition of Mayor Speer and his diminishing following, resolved in favor of municipal-ownership, for railroad rate-fixing laws for state and nation, and for avenging, at the next election, the recent larcenous transfer of the governorship from Adams to McDonald. It is not hard to guess where at least one wing of the Democrats will stand in this franchise fight. But to win, their leadership and nominations must be so preëminently commanding and fair as to secure the recognition and support of the Independent Republicans and the non-party men, who clearly hold the key to this critical and interesting situation.

In this impending struggle, all who are not partakers of the corporate pie should thoroughly digest the subject of municipal- or public-ownership and constantly keep in view a few fundamental thoughts of controlling importance.

As noted in the preceding chapter, a franchise is a special privilege that in its very essence is inequality before the law,—"it is licensed inequality." It is intended to permit a few persons to have the right to collect tolls for a public service, that should be a service rendered by the public at actual cost, and for the equal benefit of all. It is a governmental service that if any one without special permit would perform, or attempt to perform, he would be a trespasser. In other words, it is government business, and the franchise grant is the technical form of farming it out. There was a time when the accepted method of securing taxes was by "farming out the revenues." But few pages in history are blacker than those containing the wrongs and oppressions of the farmers of the revenue. They were performing a public function for private gain and their only care was to retain their privilege and

*This committee was composed of the following gentlemen: Edwin Van Cise, James B. Belford, J. Warner Mills, Edward Keating, C. W. Cochran, J. D. Merwin and Marshall Jones.

to make their percentage as large as possible. The government can never share its peculiar functions with private initiative without at last forcing the victimized citizen to cry out in vehement protest. The "utility" captain and the corporation he represents is always after profits; but equal service at actual cost and no profits should always be the end of government. With aims so diverse, we need not wonder that when the government's officers come in contact with the officers of its corporate ally, performing public functions, they are so easily inoculated with the dividend virus, as the return for capital invested. Their betrayal of their public trust begins with the innocent admission or assertion that a corporation investing its money in a public utility is entitled to fair compensation, and it ends by official plotting that forgets or defies the patron-people and schemes to make the rates, terms and service whatever the corporation may demand.

We are not unmindful that when a public utility is administered by public officials there *may be* oppression, fraud and graft, but we know there *must be* oppression, fraud and graft when such administration is farmed out to corporate or private hands. In the one case, too, we have but public officers and government to contend with, and in the course of time the officers can be exposed, removed and punished and the government reformed. But in the other case, not only do we have to contend with our public officers and government but also with the officers, agents, attorneys, stockholders, dividend-takers, newspapers, apologists and employes of the franchise corporations. In such an unequal contest the invariable experience of American municipalities seems to be that the cohorts of franchise-graft and greed have essentially absorbed the government; indeed, that they themselves are the government. Invited by sovereignty to partake as guests of the supreme functions of sovereignty, they first ingratiate themselves into favor by profuse promises and

servile politeness, and finally end by a complete capture of their unsophisticated host. Such an invitation ought never to be given. For the very reason that such functions are sovereign and pertain to the public and not to individuals, they cannot be sublet to individuals or to companies without consequent greed, graft and abuse. This is true of all public utilities, including telephones, telegraphs and the railroads. Through the monopoly insured by a franchise, we enable a few men to become inordinately rich and powerful, and then we seem stupidly amazed when true to the laws of their own growth and being, they ignore fair terms in rates, service or equipment, venally corrupt legislatures, councils, officers and courts, and finally, in their fierce demand for extensions, renewals or perpetuities, proceed, not as suppliants for a public benefaction, but as imperious masters demanding tribute and dues, and with all officialdom openly or covertly supporting their presumptuous claims. In this wise it is that a fight upon a public-service corporation has come to mean a fight upon the government itself and its recreant officers. That is the situation in Denver to-day, and has been the situation here substantially ever since the fight began, as mentioned below, in 1895. If our experience during the last ten years is to be of any value to ourselves for present or future guidance, or of any value to other communities as a suggestive example, we must not forget that the particular lesson it especially impresses is the most fundamental and unanswerable argument for municipal-ownership.

Denver's experience teaches the Jeffersonian lesson of "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none," which grounds the argument that not a few men nor a set of men should be let into the government business, but that all men should be kept out; that at no time and under no circumstances should a utility-franchise be granted unless the community giving the grant is prepared for future disaster, and that as long as a public fran-

chise must unfortunately be farmed out to private initiative, it should never be done by grant, but always by a license revocable at the community's option or will. Denver's lesson, then, is not the lesson of profits, making an argument for the land-owner's greed. Denver has had no profits from the public operation of any utility. Moreover, if she had, for my part I would not regard it as a strong argument for municipal-ownership. It is a popular argument, of course, for the more profit the city makes, the less it needs to take from the property-owning class in taxes. But if there are to be profits at all, the non-property-owning class, constituting, probably, the vast majority of any city, would sooner see them go to the stockholders of the franchise corporation than to the landlord in the shape of lower taxes. The rent-payer knows that every betterment to landed property, arising from improved environment or government or decreased taxation or otherwise, is at once capitalized by the landlord; that is, it makes his property worth so much more, and hence enables him to raise the rent. To keep the working-classes with the municipal-ownership movement, municipal profits must disappear. If they are turned into lower rates and better service, all classes, whether owning property or not, will enjoy a substantial share of the advantages of the municipal operation of public utilities. Even then, under the present economy, the landlord will still have an appreciable betterment to capitalize. But that must ever be so until the incidence of taxation is materially changed.

Now with thoughts like these in mind, of franchises, public utilities, and municipal-ownership, let us turn to the Utility-Trust of Denver and see these defiant throne-powers in their gorgeous pageant and arrogant parade.

The Denver Union Water Company.

This company is now the sole water-servitor of Denver. Its capital stock is \$7,000,000 and its bonds \$8,000,000, and

it is paying dividends large enough to sustain a capital of \$20,000,000 at four per cent. Outside of its franchises, which have less than five years to run and then are worthless, the actual value of its entire plant would probably be less than \$7,000,000 at the most liberal appraisal. Its assessed value in 1895 was only \$534,300; in 1899, \$696,305, and in 1905, \$2,500,000. Taking its own or any other valuation, what a monstrous example of lawlessness in tax-dodging it affords.

Its officers are the following well-known Denver citizens: W. S. Cheesman, president; Thomas Hayden, vice-president; D. H. Moffat, treasurer; W. P. Miller, secretary; Charles J. Hughes, Jr., attorney. Most, if not all, of these officers are also on the board of directors along with our fellow-townsmen, D. C. Dodge, E. S. Kassler and W. P. Robinson.

The company was organized under the laws of Colorado for the express purpose of absorbing the corporation water-free-booters, that since 1871 have reveled in this city. Its geneological tree is a big one, but it has borne poor fruit. Some interesting phases of its crooked history are recited *ad nauseam* in the Venner case, now pending in the supreme court as No. 4,742. To understand this and its larger history, however, and its persistent fight with the people, we must know something of the company's ancestry and something of the water conditions when and since the city was founded. Even at the risk of tedium and of the necessity of abridging my notice of the other companies constituting the Utility-Trust of Denver, I feel it incumbent upon me to give this history, in some respects with considerable completeness. It has many and diverse sociological bearings that ought to be preserved in a single picture of the economics of corporate rapacity and madness. Moreover, the water-service of Denver is the one great utility that will brook no delay in its immediate solution. It must be either publicly owned or deliberately abandoned for another twenty years to the corporations. Even the



Photo. by F. Haeckler, Philadelphia.

FLOYD CAMPBELL



aldermen to be elected next June may have a determinative voice in shaping the final decision and policy. This fact must be in the minds of the voters as much, at least, and probably more, than the Lacombe lighting proposition mentioned below, when in the June election they select the officers to serve them at the city hall. Then again, the world at large, as well as the voters, is interested in any true and faithful portrayal that shows economic conditions in a live and ambitious community as they really are. It is no pleasure to me to make this and the other portrayals that occur in this chapter, but in this series of articles I set before me the task of picturing "The economic struggle in Colorado," and I dare not betray my duty because I have hard facts to write of prominent men and companies. I did not make the facts, and those who did cannot expect one who cares more for truth and civic righteousness than for wealth or power, to withhold from the public that which he has conscientiously and laboriously come to believe to be true. Publicity is our readiest, if not our most effective weapon against the corporate aggressions that so seriously threaten to destroy our free institutions. The ostrich method of trying to bury its head in the sand in the face of danger never saved the ostrich, and cannot save society. We have had enough of glittering generalities, and if the people are ever to be spurred to effective action, we must come down from the clouds and let them see the corporation millions in their making, let them see the wrecking process in the concrete and let them have specific instances with figures, names and dates.

This premise is indulged not alone for the water history I am about to give, but as a premise also for much other matter that will appear in this and subsequent articles of this series. I cannot put the "Utilities" and the other throne-powers in their right colors on the canvas of the economic struggle in this state, without taking the reader, as I will in this chapter, into the underground chambers of wealth-

hunting and man-hunting, and of corporate buccaneering and piracy. He will see, even to weariness, how the courts are used for sparring and slugging by the players; how the people themselves are drugged and robbed; how the press is subsidized; elections bought and sold; councils corrupted; legislatures debauched; tax-rolls evaded; stocks and bonds watered into millions; and finally how the toiling masses, submitting to it all, trudge and flounder with these oppressive burdens. With this prefatory statement I will now proceed.

Denver started on its course, in 1859, on the banks of Cherry creek, near its confluence with the Platte river. The first hut was on the west bank of the creek, near Blake street, and later in the year a few cabins were built on the east side, where now the principal part of the city extends. Cherry creek was not then, as now, depleted of its water by irrigation, and it was crossed by a ferry-boat on Blake street. This stream afforded sufficient water for domestic purposes, but it ran too low to be available for irrigating trees and lawns. The luxury of such irrigation came later and not earlier than 1866, and by some authorities as late as 1872.* It was accomplished by the Platte Water Ditch, now called the City Ditch, taken out of the South Platte river and running a course of twenty-seven miles to reach the city. In 1871 and before there seems not to have been any very general or adequate service from this ditch. Colonel James Archer, from St. Louis, secured a charter to install the Holly system of water-works. He organized the Denver Water Company and built his pumping-plant near the foot of 15th street. This was the lowest point in the city and subject to all its drainage. From an artificial pool or well about thirteen feet deep and sixteen feet square, and only two hundred feet from the Platte river, he began his pumping. At this time, too, the fight of the people also began. He inveigled the city council to

* See 2 Hall's *History of Colorado*, p. 116.

pay \$150 per annum per hydrant, and to increase the number of hydrants from thirty to sixty; but the consumers were not permitted to use the Holly water for irrigating lawns or trees. The historian of those early days draws a picture of corporation methods and achievement which shows us, after a third of a century, that we are still the unfortunate legatees of practically the same fight with the same forces, and are confronted by the same methods. In his picture he shows us a susceptible council, a corporation banquet, flowing champagne and fine Havanas—and the people whipped.*

With the growth of Denver, however, this first water-plant, about 1880, was finally abandoned and Archer lake in the western part of the city, on the banks of the Platte, became the source of supply. In 1881, upon the death of Colonel Archer, his widow and heirs succeeded to his controlling interest in the Denver Water Company. In his death there was a distinct loss to his company. The widow and heirs took no initiative and did little more than to hold on to their investment, while they allowed the company's affairs to be largely controlled by minority stockholders and lawyers. There was still a strain between the company and the public, and its management was slow to comprehend the demand of pure water by gravity from the mountains instead of water pumped from a river contaminated by contact with a great and growing city. In this respect the management was weak and stupid. But there was a designing minority that saw in this stupidity the opportunity of its own triumph, and that was wise enough to also see the vast revenues from a water-system adequate for a city of the prophetic destiny of Denver.

This enterprising minority, led by David H. Moffat and Walter S. Cheesman, seeing the crippled personnel of the company by reason of its proxy-control through a widow and heirs, conceived the brilliant idea of submitting a give-or-take proposition, with figures properly

sugar-coated and fixed up to suit themselves. It was put in legal form and its acceptance made binding on both parties. It was expected, of course, that the widow would see the door opened for her to pass out and would jump at the chance, and through the same door the designing banker and his friends would rush in to claim their own. But to their utter chagrin and confusion the widow, through her advisers, evinced that she, too, could see the future millions in owning the Denver water-plant as well as they, and she promptly accepted and paid the trifling sum of \$450,000 named in their cunning catch-proposition and drove the plotters, with all their expensive ambitions, entirely out of the water business. This unexpected denouement of the give-or-take transaction was the laugh of the town, exposing the "designers" with their own feet caught in the trap they had set for others. It was stinging to their pride and in seeking to explain it they made the happy discovery that they were martyrs to the people's cause; indeed, that they were simply "frozen out" because they advocated for the public purer water from the mountains.

This was a new and brilliant conception of their status and it naturally gave them partisans and followers. Thus encouraged, and with the dream of the millions that had slipped from them to the widow, and with utter indifference to the moral obloquy that a large part of the people, at least, would attach to their enterprise, they organized a new competing company for public favor. To some this new venture seemed like a search for solace and for millions in revenge. Nevertheless, with the money paid them by the widow and their own contributions, and with the Clayton's money and the money of the Chaffee heirs, they organized, under the laws of the state, in 1889, the Citizens' Water Company. With a great blare of trumpets they were going to do justice to the people, both as to rates and as to pure water from the mountains. These reso-

* See *Hall's History of Colorado*, pp. 115-116.

lute martyrs to the people's cause were David H. Moffat, Walter S. Cheesman and others, who are now the imperious masters of The Denver Union Water Company. The fight between the two companies was sharp and bitter. The pioneer company was put by the widow under the guidance of another banker, Mr. Dennis Sullivan, and he waked matters up by also promising water from the mountains. The people did not realize then, as now, that there can be no such thing as competition in the operation of a public utility, and they were willing that the new company should come in and give them the competition that it promised it would in the water service. Accordingly it soon secured the franchise shown in the table above, by which for twenty years it was allowed to lay its pipes and mains and to sell water at rates not exceeding those then charged by the pioneer company.

From 1871 nearly twenty years have now elapsed and we come to 1890. The Denver Water Company must soon have a new franchise and it wants it now. But to defeat it, the martyrs submitted a schedule of water-rates even lower, as Mayor McMurray had occasion later to remind them in a certain veto message, than the scale in the Flatray ordinance mentioned below, and much lower than the rates then proposed by the pioneer company. But the people naturally distrusted a group of managers that would set a trap for a widow, and when fairly caught themselves would not stay caught. In vain was their cry for mountain-water, and in vain was their self-proclaimed martyrdom of sinking their fortunes for the people's good. The pioneer company stood by its rates, but assured the public that if suffered to collect them for only five years, it would then give the city the advantage of practical public-ownership by making the rates the same as the average rates of the three municipal-owning water-works cities of Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati. This municipal-ownership idea touched a popular chord and

despite the opposition of the martyrs, and despite the fact that the five years' scale was high, it carried the widow's ordinance through the council and over the veto of Mayor Londoner and gave the pioneers a new water-franchise good for twenty years. This event, at the time, was heralded as a victory for Dennis Sullivan and the defeat of Moffat and Cheesman. Here, too, was a new *casus belli* and the war-paint was put on thick and fast.

We do not expect to know all the ins and-outs of this vicious warfare, but there are some things about it we are expected not to know that we do know. Not only so, but after a painstaking investigation we believe these things to be true. Our source of information is so high and satisfactory that we feel bound to believe and to state, as a part of this corporation-history, that the fight was carried on even into the halls of the state legislature; that the actual participants are not the only ones who know how the "boodle" was used, nor the only ones who know how ten thousand dollars were pocketed by a certain "go-between" in the plunging and successful effort to defeat an amendment to the then charter of Denver supposed to be in the interest of one of the contending parties. The statute of limitations may make some easier the beds of these corruptors of legislatures and courts, but it cannot make any easier their pricking conscience. Even yet a hundred fingers point in scorn, and whispered scornings mark the way when these bribe-givers and takers, appareled in fine cloth and linen, walk down our city streets or sit in gilded chairs, or parade the aisles of our fashionable churches.

But legislative bribery was not the only "Rockefellerian" method adopted by these warring corporations. The new company saw a chance to wreck its rival and deliberately set about to do it. Their pipes and mains were by this time in most of the principal streets of the city and they were able to exert a formidable competition. The widow's company, in order to carry out its alleged programme

and to outstrip its rival in superior service, had gone into the market to borrow. The senior or underlying mortgages given or assumed by it amounted to half a million dollars. Then January 15, 1890, it gave a mortgage to the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company of New York to secure bonds aggregating \$2,500,000, and later in the same year, November 12th, under the new corporate name of the Denver City Water-Works Company, that carried its assets and property, it gave a mortgage to the Central Trust Company of New York to secure bonds aggregating \$7,000,000, but only about \$2,000,000 of which seem ever to have been sold. Later, in sparring for points and financial assistance, Venner & Company, of New York City, became its backer. This company was then on the swelling wave and had a controlling interest in the water-works at Adrian, Ottomwa, Alton and Omaha. At the instance of this New York backer, the American Water-Works Company was organized in New Jersey, and the Omaha and Denver properties were conveyed to it. The Denver conveyance was made April 25, 1891, and within a few days thereafter the New Jersey company took possession of the Denver plant and was in such possession and operating the same when overwhelmed by the receivership mentioned below.

The officers of the New Jersey company were: William A. Underwood, president; Dennis Sullivan and Clarence H. Venner, vice-presidents. The Denver executive committee consisted of Dennis Sullivan, F. P. McManus and William A. Underwood. Governor Grant and H. M. Porter were local directors.

This recital is enough to show the reader that the widow's pioneer company was now loaded down with commercial obligations and uncomfortably bound to new duties and relations. Its interest-charge was large and had to be promptly met, and it had to line up with new acquaintances and to square itself with the necessities of other companies and plants.

It was thus an easy mark and our shrewd martyrs were quick to spy it out. They at once made a center-shot by giving water-service free; and for nearly two years consumers fortunate enough to be on the streets containing the pipe-lines of the two rivals enjoyed the questionable bounty of this modern method of competitive destruction. This was a stunning blow, no doubt, to the widow's pioneer company, now linked in fortune with Omaha, New York and New Jersey. Its interest obligations began to waver and some were soon in default. Had there been no perfidy among the new men and companies representing the pioneer interests, perhaps they might have weathered the storm. But in June, 1891, and within sixty days after the conveyance of the Denver property to the New Jersey company, President Underwood and Vice-President Sullivan met in conference at Omaha. There was soon something doing, and in the following July they resigned simultaneously, both as officers and directors of the New Jersey company. At the same time, too, Governor Grant and H. M. Porter, the local directors, were also accommodating enough to resign. These resignations were in writing and it was therein expressed that they should take effect immediately, but Underwood's alone was formally accepted. Vice-President Venner they claimed to be the only executive officer of the company still in commission. It appears that Underwood, previous to the Omaha conference, was Venner's trusted lieutenant, but they had fallen out. It seems he then deliberately confederated with Sullivan to destroy the Venner interests in Denver, and by certain other wrecking schemes he succeeded as well in destroying the Venner interests in all the other cities mentioned above.

Notwithstanding Sullivan's resignation in July, 1891, in the following fall of the same year he brought suits in New York, in the name of the New Jersey company, and still assumed to act as its vice-president, and alleged the insolvency of Venner

& Company, and caused them to suspend. It is the corporation method when a man is in the way to throw him out, and, to give their deed a sympathetic public setting, to revile him from a moral pose so high one is almost persuaded they themselves are the people's guardian angels. This was the fate of Venner. For all I know he may be the financial adventurer his enemies proclaim him. But what of his pursuers? Are wreckers better than adventurers because they have a longer purse? Moreover he does not stand alone in this corporation water-fight. With him is a long list of respectable people, both men and women, who own in the aggregate over five million dollars of the capital stock of the New Jersey company.

Now look at the method pursued in Denver, evidenced in the main by records and documents, and requiring but occasional and light reliance upon the testimony of the several witnesses:

In January, 1892, Sullivan and Underwood met again in conference in Omaha, and in less than thirty days thereafter two suits were begun in the district-court in Denver to foreclose the underlying mortgages mentioned above. The New Jersey company, of course, was the principal defendant. It had absorbed the property and life of the antecedent companies that gave the mortgages. These suits were begun February 2d and were numbered respectively 16,249 and 16,250, and on the same day they were consolidated under the first number and Dennis Sullivan was appointed receiver of the New Jersey company, and had his bond then and there ready for approval, and it was approved, and *instantly*, by virtue of his receivership, he came into the actual and exclusive possession and control of all the water-plant of the old pioneer company in Denver.

Venner's first counter-move was to dismiss, in writing, the Denver attorney close to Sullivan, who had appeared for the company in other matters. This he did February 9, 1892, but the very next

day this same attorney, claiming there was no governing body to dismiss him, waived service of summons in both cases and filed a written notice therein of the appearance of the New Jersey company. Within the next sixty days the Sullivan-Underwood combination, first through a suit in the court of chancery of New Jersey, prevented the holding of the annual stockholders' meeting of the New Jersey company, at which vacancies might be filled, and then, on the ground that the company had no "governing body," they procured a restraining order in the same court, which later (July 20th) was made permanent and by which the American Water-Works Company,—that is the New Jersey Company,—its officers, directors, agents and attorneys were compelled to desist from, in any manner continuing its business and from exercising any of the privileges or franchises of its charter, and from holding any meeting at which any action should be taken concerning any business, and from attempting to use its name for any purpose.

With the young Samson of New Jersey thus thrown down, bound and gagged, the coast was clear to press the Colorado suits, relieved of the danger of any actual defense by the New Jersey defendant. Even the right of appeal was gone,* and any act done on behalf of the pinioned defendant, except by the discharged attorney, who was always careful to measure his acts by the needs of the foreclosing plaintiffs, was an *ineffective act because in contempt of the New Jersey injunction*.

The main point by Sullivan and Underwood was, of course, to foreclose the above senior or underlying mortgages and to cut off the New Jersey company from any right to redeem. But as the amount involved was comparatively small

* See American Water-Works Co. of New Jersey vs. The Farmers' Loan and Trust Co. *et al.*, 20 Colorado, 203 (1894); Venner vs. The Denver Union Water Co., 15 Colorado App., 495 (1900). See also Clarence H. Venner *et al.* vs. The Denver Union Water Co. *et al.*, 1 Colorado, Dec. Supp. 372, decided by Judge Dixon, June 2, 1902, and which is now No. 4,742 in the supreme court.

—not exceeding half a million dollars—and the title issuing from such foreclosure would carry all the Denver property of the pioneer company, now worth millions of dollars, the wreckers knew they could not purloin this loot without they did deliberately lie in wait and sand-bag and gag the New Jersey company, as stated above. Now they had it helpless and prostrate at their feet, and proceeded to jump upon it and to crush out its life. The only voice to say nay was the Esau voice of the discharged attorney.

These foreclosure proceedings brought on others, and in a few months The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company and The Central Trust Company of New York had their respective suits pending against the New Jersey company in the district-court in Denver, as Nos. 16,861 and 17,476.

In due time, too, there were the inevitable reorganization committees—the five per cent. committee and the seven per cent. committee. This part of the procedure was important in order to prevent any competitive bids when the water-plant of the former pioneers was sold under the decree of foreclosure. It was not overlooked, however, for the Venner-hating Underwood was attorney for the seven per cent. committee, and despite the mutually conflicting interests of these two committees, he eventually had them working together under the chairmanship of Daniel A. Heald. They were induced in the end, if not in the beginning, to withdraw opposition to the senior foreclosures. This they did, and they all finally united in bringing grist to the mill of Sullivan and Underwood.

In a brief of over 200 pages in the above case, No. 4,742, a large part of it is devoted to showing "there was fraud practiced in procuring the decrees." As the writers, Yeaman and Gove and Babb, are responsible members of the bar, let us listen a moment to their serious arraignment:

"In the foreclosure cases, Attorney

Hartzell well knew that he had only a general employment and, therefore, no right to waive service of process. . . . He knew that no defense was being made. He did not, in any form, put in issue any allegation of the complaint so as to require proof of it. He conducted himself altogether so as to permit default to be entered against the company, while making it appear to the court that the company was represented by counsel. . . . The record throughout shows that Hartzell's pretended appearance was in aid of the prosecution, that he was acting under the direction of Sullivan. . . . The only direction which Mr. Hartzell had, as appears from his deposition, was from Mr. Sullivan, who was appointed receiver in the cause. . . . Mr. Underwood . . . admitted . . . with evident reluctance, that he remitted Hartzell \$2,000. . . . The record further shows that Mr. Hartzell was allowed a fee of \$250 for services rendered to the receiver up to September 7, 1892. . . . It thus appears that Mr. Hartzell did not have authority and did not appear for the American Water-Works Company but really acted for its adversaries. This was not merely technical, but actual fraud. . . . The prosecution and pretended defense (were) both conducted by the plaintiffs in the case, (which was) a fraud upon the court so flagrant that all authorities hold that a judgment so entered is void even upon collateral attack. The plaintiff, The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, through its attorneys, Turner, McClure and Ralston, knew, from the beginning, of the New Jersey injunction and the helpless condition in which it placed the American Water-Works Company. The reorganization committee, from its beginning, knew the same facts through its attorney, William A. Underwood; and long before the final decree of March 29, 1894, when the sweeping amendments were made, the same committee knew the same facts through the knowledge of its Denver counsel. In other words, the corporation plaintiff and its personal beneficiaries

knew that they were as alleged in (our) complaint—falsely and fraudulently imposing upon the court, the belief that the American Water-Works Company had been duly served with process and that all parties in interest were properly represented before the court, and that, in the language of Judge Story, the whole proceeding was 'a solemn mockery,' 'a solemn fraud,' and 'not to be dignified with the name of a judicial proceeding.'"

In the course of this litigation, we are now approaching the spring of 1894, and on or before May 1st our martyrs of the Citizens' Water Company, whom we have left unnotified for a time, must either announce free water for another season, according to their "Rockefellian" method mentioned above, or receive the welcome tidings of the final success of their savage method, and thus be saved the necessity of bestowing further favors upon the public.

On the 29th of March, after certain material amendments, the decrees of foreclosure on the senior mortgages entered at a previous term of court are finally made to suit the foreclosing plaintiffs, and soon thereafter the sale is advertised to occur on the 21st day of the following April. The suspense for the martyrs is, of course, terrific, but it is exceedingly brief. They have won and the trophies of victory are thrown down at their feet. On the 6th day of April, a written agreement is executed between Daniel A. Heald and others representing the reorganization committees and David H. Moffat and Walter S. Cheesman, representing The Citizens' Water Company, by which the programme at the foreclosure sale is specifically mapped out and the corporate handling of the whole water-works system of Denver is provided for. Here is the scheme:

The Heald party, or its representatives, were to bid the property in at the sale at the amount of the mortgages, costs of court, and of the receivership, etc. A new corporation was to be organized

under the laws of Colorado, to be called The Union Water Company, but by supplemental agreement, October 18, 1894, this name was changed to The Denver Union Water Company. It was to have nine directors—four from the Heald party and five from the "Citizens." All property of both parties was to be conveyed to it. Its capital was to be \$7,500,000, divided into 75,000 shares of \$100 each. It was apportioned as follows:

To the Heald party, embracing the Sullivan, Underwood-Archer interests, (common).....	\$1,000,000
To the Heald party, embracing the Sullivan, Underwood-Archer interests, (preferred).....	1,250,000
To the Citizens' Water Company people, (common).....	4,000,000
To the Citizens' Water Company people, (preferred).....	1,250,000

It was also provided in this agreement that 8,000 bonds of \$1,000 each should be issued by The Denver Union Water Company and disposed of as follows:

To the Heald party as mentioned above, 4,500,.....	\$4,500,000
To the Citizens' Water Company people, 2,500,.....	2,500,000
To be used in future operations, 1,000,.....	1,000,000

The Venner interests received nothing and the New Jersey company was wrecked.

The ninth paragraph of this April agreement expressly provides that each party shall cause the water-rates in Denver to be increased for the year beginning with May 1, 1894, to the rates prevailing and charged by the Denver Water Company in the year 1890, *with such exceptions as may be agreed to by Mr. Heald and Mr. Cheesman*, and such rates shall be maintained until the new corporation shall come into possession.

In the face of an iron-clad written agreement like this, as to which it looks as if Receiver Sullivan was as much a party as if he had signed it, what shall we say as to its natural and intended effect upon free bidding at the foreclosure sale? Yet, not out of proper keeping with other proceedings in the case, he went through the form of conducting the

sale under the title of commissioner—strange to Colorado law—and was allowed \$16,000 for this invaluable service. Upon this feature of the proceedings, and the way it was reported to the court, let us quote again from the brief:

"As early as November 15, 1893, the correspondence between Underwood, as attorney for the seven per cent. committee, and Sullivan, receiver of the American Water-Works Company, shows that the former had practically brought the committees to an agreement, and at that early day the profits to be made by this receiver from selling the property at one price and reporting the sale at another appear to have been already considered between the correspondents. . . . *The false report of sale for \$1,010,000 was the natural sequence of the consummation of the fraudulent agreement, or, to go back to the beginning, (it) was the lusty development of the embryo from the ill-omened coition of two sinister minds at Omaha, in June, 1891, which commenced with the concerted resignations by them and other directors of the American Water-Works Company.*"

Let us now see how much Mr. Sullivan made out of his receivership, to be paid eventually by the people of Denver. We read again:

"From February 2, 1892, to September 1894, he received the sum of \$1,250 per month, or \$37,625. Adding to this the amount allowed by final orders, makes a total of \$103,291.66. To this should be added Sullivan's share of the \$250,000 paid him and the other Denver stockholders by the reorganization committee, . . . all of which he received for two and one-half years' attention to a property which he reported sold for \$1,010,000."

In addition to this, his attorney, at the conclusion of his receivership, was allowed in one sum \$18,500.

More than a third of a million dollars

for the people to pay was thus absorbed in fees by Mr. Sullivan's extraordinary receivership,—most of which, it appears, stuck to his own fingers.

The perfunctory sale under the foreclosure decree occurred April 21, 1894, and all the property of the pioneer company was bid in, pursuant to the written agreement; but the property was reported by Receiver Sullivan as sold for \$1,010,000! The junior foreclosures were now a mere matter of form, and on September 5th the receivership was ended. On October 18th The Denver Union Water Company was incorporated according to programme and in its articles of incorporation it was expressly stated it was organized especially for the purpose of acquiring, and that it did acquire "all the property, franchises, interests and assets of every kind and character lately and on to wit, April 21, 1894, sold under foreclosure decree of the district court, etc."

Enough is now rehearsed of the doings of these flashy magnates of finance to show that in the history of the Denver Water Plant there have been frauds and crimes and overreaching, that if done by poor men or tramps with a peck of pickles or an ordinary hen-roost would have led to stripes and bars, but being done by "respectables" with a public utility running into millions, the perpetrators are enthroned in wealth and power, and the serviceable attorney is made Lieutenant-Governor of Porto Rico. Without paying a cent of cash, and by putting the financial obligations of the "transaction" wholly upon the shoulders of the people, our free-water givers are now in sole possession of the entire plant of the city and their triumph and revenge is sweeping and complete. Like the spider and the web, they had woven to destroy, and they saw their victims writhe and squirm and consume,—and consumed.

Let us now turn to the people. The five years' period of the pioneer franchise is close at hand. It will expire April 10, 1895. The question now is, what will

these old champions of the people's cause, in undisputed control of the water-service of the city, do towards carrying out in good faith the municipal-ownership clause of the pioneer charter of 1890 that they then tried so hard to defeat?

This franchise was embraced in Ordinance No. 44, of the series of 1890, and was approved April 10, 1890. It is the last entry under "Water" in the preceding table. Carrying out the public-ownership idea, section 5 provided as follows:

" . . . That at any time after five years from date, the city council may require said company (The Denver Water Company) to fix schedule rates for private consumers equivalent to the average rate prevailing in the cities of Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati for the same service."

The Denver Union Water Company was now the legal successor to The Denver Water Company of the pioneers and had fallen heir to its above-mentioned valuable franchise, which was so much better than the franchise given to the martyrs when operating the Citizens' Water Company, that the latter from this time on drops out of sight. The new "Union" company was manned by old and familiar hands, with David H. Moffat and Walter S. Cheesman at the helm. They were the special champions of fairer rates to the city than those contained in the franchise they were now required to execute, but which, in 1890, they so far and violently opposed as to submit against it a schedule of rates, as we have seen, materially lower in every particular.

Prior to April 10, 1895, a new mayor and council were to be elected and the local issue involved was whether the water-plant should be condemned or a new one built, or reliance should be placed in the old champions of the new company to give practical public-ownership, at least as to water-rates, by a liberal compliance with the terms above of section 5. The campaign was spirited and

the result was not free from doubt, when the new company, through its president, Walter S. Cheesman, sent to the mayor and council a public letter intended to advance, and which did advance, the political success of the ticket standing for the interests of the company. The material and vital part of this letter was as follows:

"The ordinance above referred to contains the contract under which the Denver Union Water Company supplies water to the citizens of Denver. It was signed April 10, A. D. 1890, so that by its terms *The Denver Union Water Company may be required after April 10, 1895, to furnish water at the average rate charged in Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati.* Each of these cities owns its own water-plant. The Denver Union Water Company is ready at any time to take this matter up and adjust the rates in accordance with the terms of this contract."

Every candidate upon the company's ticket signed a written pledge to promptly see to it that the provisions of section 5 mentioned in the Cheesman letter should be fairly and faithfully carried out by the company. But even all this was not deemed enough to give the company victory. To accomplish that, it then initiated the contaminating methods that have marked its political manipulations ever since, and with the sum of \$6,000 secretly subsidized the then existing *Times-Sun* to support its cause and make the people think such support was upon principle and disinterested. In this and other devious ways the campaign went on. Finally the vote was taken and the company won.

Both branches of the new council were soon organized and the committee on "water" was a conspicuous part of the two houses. Numerous bills were introduced by Aldermen Leet, Young and Lathan, and Supervisors Burpee and Scobey, "requiring the Denver Union Water Company to fix schedule rates for private consumers as provided in section

5 of ordinance No. 44, of the series of 1890." The board of aldermen consisted of fourteen members and the board of supervisors of five. Public hearings were had by the water committee of the supervisors and the people were soon convinced they were swindled by the Cheesman letter. The company's attorney and the "distinguished citizens" who spoke at these meetings announced the startling creed that no average rates could be fixed equivalent to those of the municipal-owning cities of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis and that section 5 was practically inoperative. During the campaign President Cheesman told the people, in writing, that his company could "be required after April 10, 1895, to furnish water at the average rate charged in Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati,"—but now, after the election and after April 10, 1895, he and his company audaciously tell the people that the company cannot "be required to furnish water at such an average rate," because the average itself is a myth.

This deliberate double-dealing with the intelligent people of a whole city fell like a bomb, and its explosion is still heard in every discussion of the water question. The people were up and alert and their ears were open to catch the first echo of this criminal treachery of the company in the proceedings of the council.

June 25, 1895, at 3 P. M., the aldermen were called in special session to consider the Leet, Young and Lathan bills. The people flocked in and it was soon apparent that the corporation measure was the Young bill. Vote after vote was taken on motions of every kind, and each time it was a tie,—7 to 7. A night-session was held, but nothing was done but to go into committee of the whole and report progress.

June 27th, at 1.30 P. M., Mayor McMurray had the aldermen again in special session on the same bills. The public mind was excited, as it was rumored the water company had put its collar on one

of the people's men. Again the hall was crowded and, despite the show of force and violence, the rumor was confirmed and one,—Emery,—betrayed the people. The Leet bill was side-tracked by a vote of 8 to 6, and by the same vote the Lathan bill was defeated. The track was now clear for the Young bill,—the corporation measure. Willard L. Ames, leading the people's forces in all these fights, moved to amend by changing the schedule and making it 20 per cent. less than the existing rates. Lost, 8 to 6. Numerous motions and amendments were made, but all lost until the deserter, Emery, moved as a substitute for all pending motions a corporation-prepared amendment containing a schedule of rates. Carried, 8 to 6. Doyle moved that the substitute be incorporated in the bill. Carried, 8 to 6. Doyle moved a recess of five minutes to engross the bill. Carried, 8 to 6. Doyle moved that the bill as amended and engrossed be passed. Lost, 7 to 7! Here Emery must have seen a rope and faltered, for he voted once more with the forces of the people. For a moment hope was revived and it was sought to put the Leet bill on its passage, but Emery slipped again into his collar and the motion was lost,—8 to 6. A night-session was held and the recreant servants and their dutiful masters saw to it that there was ample guard. Doyle then renewed his motion to pass the Young bill, No. 32, as amended by Emery and engrossed. Carried.

Ayes: Doyle, Dunnagan, Emery, Fidel, Flatray, Heister, Hingley, Young,—8.

Nays: Ames, Lathan, Leet, Rogers, Sewall, Bartels,—6.

Thus the deed was done and corporation boodles triumphed. Our space will not permit us to follow the other meetings of the aldermen upon this subject, nor to enter the supervisors' chamber to show how Burpee and Scobey stood with the people and Burton, Phister and Schmidt with the Moffat-Cheesman water-company. We must tarry a moment, however, at the special aldermanic meeting

called by the Mayor, August 13th, to consider the Burpee bill that had come over from the board of supervisors. It was distasteful to the company and that was enough to secure its adverse report. But in that report was written the echo of the post-election betrayal by President Cheesman in the following words: "We are of the opinion that the city council is unable to ascertain the average of the rates prevailing in the cities of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis, item by item, or to arrive at an accurate or even approximately correct conclusion in the attempt." This report further stated that the committee, in the near future, would prepare a bill that would be all right. This bill was soon introduced by Alderman Flatray and numbered 68. The mayor, always crowding this question to the front, required the aldermen to meet in special session on two successive days,—August 16th and 17th,—to consider this newest move of the arrogant corporation. These were exciting times, and the people were there and excited. But the bill passed both the aldermen and the supervisors and went to the mayor for consideration. He sent it back to the aldermen with his disapproval in a well-tempered, well-argued message of considerable length. He reminded the council that at the spring election there were two propositions before the people, one to give city-ownership by constructing competing works, and the other to give practically the same thing by "honestly enforcing" the provisions of section 5. He further said that "all the members of both branches of the city council positively and solemnly agreed, *over their own signatures*, that if elected to office by the people of this city they would honestly and strictly enforce the provisions of that ordinance, . . . and *before the election* the water company publicly announced its willingness to adjust these rates in accordance with the contract." Still further he said that the company threw over the South Denver contract because they did n't like it and claimed they were

not bound by it; that the Flatray ordinance before him created a new contract with this new company for fifteen years, and fixed now a schedule of rates to carry throughout the whole period and to be considered in full satisfaction of the provisions of the above section 5; whereas the city was entitled to have a change in schedule whenever the three cities named above made a material change in their rates. He further pointed out that the Flatray ordinance fixed the scale too high and was not a seriatim reduction, but a compromise; and finally, he answered the claim of the company that the Burpee and Scobey bills would bankrupt it, if passed, by recalling that in February, 1890, when Moffat and Cheesman, then of The Citizens' Water Company and the present head of The Denver Union Water Company, in order to defeat the very franchise under which they now were claiming, and which was then being backed by the pioneers, offered a twenty per cent. reduction from the schedule it contains and offered to irrigate lots of twenty-five feet in width for \$5.00 each per annum. Moreover he reminded the council that the company never makes a public statement of its financial operations and no one is allowed to see its books.

Let us here stop to remark that that has been the policy of the company ever since. It is the only utility corporation in Denver that does not publish a report for its stockholders, or give them specific information of its doings. What do the people of this city, and of the state and of the world, think of a company operating in a large city so important a *public* function as its water system, holding in imperious secrecy, both from its stockholders and from the people, its receipts and expenditures, its resources and liabilities, —and its profits? Municipal-ownership cannot too soon cut short the grasping career of such incorporated autocracy. But to return to our subject.

The able veto of the mayor struck a strong chord of response in the people, and it soon was noised about that the

corporation collar, lined with the almighty dollar, was to be put upon other necks of the people's servants and that the Flatray bill would be finally passed by the necessary two-thirds majority, despite the mayor's veto. This was the climax of corporate audacity. The *Rocky Mountain News*, always able and fearless in this and other corporation fights, sounded the tocsin, and like the recent popular uprising in Philadelphia, the people were indignant and enraged and poured into the city hall to make a physical demonstration of their determined protest. This time there was no question about the presence of ropes nor the intention to use them.

In silent, somber suspense the roll was called and the question was: "Shall the Flatray bill, No. 68, be passed, the mayor's veto notwithstanding?"

Yeas: Doyle, Dunnagan, Emery, Fidel, Flatray, Heister, Hingley, Young.—8.

Nays: Ames, Lathan, Sewall, Bartels,—4.

Absent: Leet and Ross,—2.

Ten votes were necessary and there were only the usual corporation eight, and the measure was defeated. If the corporation managers had, as asserted, arranged for the two votes they were short, their "arrangement" miscarried in the popular demonstration and they never dared to show up. This was the high-water mark of the water-fight in the council, and we turn now to the fight in the courts.

In the fall of 1895,—October 2d,—a mandamus from the district-court in case No. 22,856 was obtained, requiring the council to compel the water company to fix a new schedule of rates in accordance with section 5, and it obeyed. On the last day of the year, this same plaintiff, suing for himself and all others similarly situated, applied to the same court, in case No. 22,545, for an injunction restraining the company from shutting off its water service to him and others who should tender a sum equivalent to the average rate of the three cities of Chicago,

Cincinnati and St. Louis. Here the hopes of the people were dashed, and the court held, to the great delight of the company and to the surprise and confusion of the public, that each individual consumer must sue for himself. That meant a hundred thousand separate suits! Such a monstrous anomaly gave hope for reversal upon appeal. The appeal was taken. The printed abstract was filed November 24, 1896, and the last brief was filed April 22, 1897,—*eight years ago*,—and still the appeal is sleeping undisposed of in the supreme court, and next December this particular case will be *ten years old*! Who will rise to explain—courts, lawyers, or company?

In the spring of 1897 there was another campaign for the election of a mayor and council. The water question was the sole issue, and despite the corporation methods, Mayor McMurray, with the help of the Civic Federation and the vote of the women, was vindicated, and he and his whole ticket elected. The people, by concerted action, then refused to pay the high rates exacted by the water company, and the latter began to cut off the service. The people secured keys and turned on the water as soon as it was turned off. In some wards the aldermen themselves went from house to house with keys and assisted the people in re-establishing their water-service. The mayor, too, was also active in this regard. While the council worked diligently for the passage of effective ordinances, the the district-court was again brought into the struggle, and an injunction suit in the name of the city was begun May 21st against The Denver Union Water Company, enjoining it from turning off the consumers' water and requiring it or the court to fix a schedule of rates in accordance with section 5. The court was tender, however, about interfering with the vested right of the company to pluck the public, and it substantially denied all relief to the people, both temporary and permanent. The trial in this case was prolonged and spectacular. It lasted

more than six months and Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis poured out their ex-water-clerks to pose for the company as learned experts and specialists. The practical result of Judge Le Fevre's decision in this case was complained of as actually raising the company's schedule in important particulars, and in the popular mind it was ridiculed as equivalent to finding $3 + 2 = 4$. The case is still sleeping upon appeal in the supreme court, and is nearly *nine years old!*

In the same year in question, 1897, and while the suit last-mentioned was pending, and while the mayor and the council and the people were pulling together for effective relief against the water company, an interloper from New York, wholly unannounced, suddenly, October 28th, jumped into the juridical arena at the moment when the people's victory seemed to be in sight. This startling litigant was the Continental Trust Company, holding bonds of the Denver Union Water Company, and it went to Judge Thayer of the federal court in St. Louis for its injunction. The city and the whole city administration were made defendants, and along with them The Denver Union Water Company. It was alleged that the city and its officials and the people were in a conspiracy to depreciate the property and franchises of the water company, to harass and oppress it, to prevent the collection of its water-rates, and to destroy its credit, and to ultimately get the water-plant for much less than its value; that certain ordinances of July 1 and 28, 1897, carrying heavy penalties against the water company were a part of the conspiracy, and, finally, that the company, on November 1, 1895, had reduced the rates for water for domestic purposes twenty per cent., and for irrigating purposes forty-five per cent., in an attempted compliance with section 5.

The St. Louis judge issued a restraining order without a hearing, and thus the judicial process of that distant court was made to operate upon the water-rates

and the water-fight in Denver. Later a brief contest upon affidavits was had in the case and the allegations of the New York Company were put in issue; still the court directed a preliminary injunction, which is yet in operation, and the enforcement of the above ordinances was suspended and the officers and people were prevented from turning on the water when the company turned it off, and the company was allowed to turn it off unless paid the particular rates it exacted.*

The next occurrence in order worthy of mention was the effort on the part of the mayor and council to ascertain as far as possible the actual value of the entire plant of the water company. This delicate and laborious task was entrusted to City Engineer Hunter. Under date of November 1, 1898, the mayor transmitted to the council Mr. Hunter's report of more than a dozen closely-printed pages, fixing the value at \$3,763,617. An effort was then made by the city to buy the company's plant, but the price asked was \$9,000,000! All coats were now off for the construction of a rival plant by the city, and in 1899 city bonds for this purpose in the aggregate sum of \$4,600,000 were authorized and they carried by a vote of more than two to one. But again the people were tripped, and Judge Riner,† of the federal court, held that the bonds were improperly authorized,

1. Because voted at a special election.
2. Because two propositions were submitted together and not separately, to wit: to buy the company's plant or to construct a new one.
3. Because the city, during the life of the company's franchise, could not construct new and competing works.

So, at last, we have reached a point in our history of the water-service of Denver where the people cannot build, and at the company's figures, they will not buy. At

**Legal Adviser*, 150.

† This decision was given February 4, 1901, in the case of *F. Annine Josephine Grant vs. City of Denver*, No. 4,112, United States Circuit Court for the District of Colorado.

this point, too, it is in order to observe that the most valuable thing to sell in an arid country in connection with a water-plant is that intangible easement called a water-right. It should be noted that in Colorado, by reason of insufficient and infrequent rains, the subject of water-rights and irrigation is of supreme interest to every inhabitant. Here the title to the water flowing in the natural streams is vested in the public, subject to be used by the citizens, however, in the order of their respective appropriations. This is the tender spot of The Denver Union Water Company. All the water of the Platte river, the source of its supply, has long since been appropriated by a myriad of irrigating companies and tillers of the soil. Among the water-decrees required to be filed with the state engineer, there is not one in the name of this company, nor in the name of any of the constituent companies from which it emerged. It owns by purchase, it is true, a few rights to the river's flow, but they are not senior rights and are small in quantity. To supply in fact what it thus lacks in law, it has constructed elaborate galleries in the bed of the river, and in this way it diverts an enormous seepage to its pipes that would otherwise reach the lands and ditches of those to whom it properly belongs by the rule of priority. This larcenous device has been carried to such an extent at the most critical period of the irrigating season, as to create a scarcity of water in the large agricultural sections entitled to the Platte river flow, and the farmers in various districts have held frequent meetings of protest and have vigorously denounced the company for selling to the city of Denver water it had stolen from the ranchmen. They have organized and have already taken the matter both to the legislature and to the courts.

The company has two fine artificial lakes, however, Marsden and Cheesman. The latter was recently completed at the cost of more than a million dollars, and when full, as at present, constitutes a two-

years' supply for the city. But this is naturally held in reserve, when the galleries in the river can be so easily worked with no more serious result than the bluster of the farmers in the company's citadel of strength, the legislature and the courts.

When Denver's water-problem is rightly solved, the city and the farmer will find their lot in common,—the farmer wants the market and the city wants the farmer's vegetables, fruits and crops. There then will be no larceny and strife, and the great city of the plains can wisely vie with Uncle Sam in the building of reservoirs, large and small, in every available nook in the foot-hills and the mountains. The farmers' water-rights, when needed, can be bought, or better still, made the subject of exchange for the city's water from its hundred reservoirs. Then will Denver's future be assured; no ditch will parch for water on the rolling plains, and every waiting acre now barren and unused will wear a dress of green and thrift and the prolific parturition of a laboring soil will bear its progeny of agricultural wealth into the prosperous laps of a million people. To this supreme achievement the farmers of the Platte, and through them the farmers of the state, and the undaunted civic forces of every municipality should join hands for mutual aid in the impending and final crisis that is now on with the water-baron and the Utility-Trust of Denver. *They* are in the saddle of state politics, making governors and judges and senators, and those who would oppose must take an active hand in the fight in Denver to dehorse them.

We are now at the politics of the situation. The last year in the order of our story was 1899, but from that time to the present the people, baffled in the courts, have also been baffled at the ballot-box. The returns of that year did not show that Mayor McMurray was reëlected, though I certainly shall not say that he was defeated. The returns at no municipal election since,—that is, 1901,

1903 and 1904,—show that any, save the servants of the corporations, have received a majority of the popular vote. We postpone to our chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot" the appalling fraud that explains this apparent abandonment of popular government to the corporations. There has been no abandonment in fact, and what there is in seeming is the silent token of ballot-box stuffing, corruption and fraud. This is

the civic wreck wrought by corporation greed, loot and money, and in the perilous debauch of the throne-powers we see the one argument capping all others for public-ownership, that, to save our homes and the republic, the utility corporations must not only be driven out of politics but they must be driven out of the utilities.

(*To be continued.*)

J. WARNER MILLS.

Denver, Colo.

A PASTORAL OF THE HILLS.

BY ANTOINETTE McKIM.

I.

"LOOK! See thet! Jest ez I told you!"

Pulling the horse to a stop where the trees of the forest suddenly halted at the brink of a ravine, he pointed toward the rain-dimpled waters of a pond.

"There's another! Finest eatin' in the world," he insisted as the glistening fish leaping high swept a graceful curve, leaving widely eddying circles where it plunged beneath the surface.

"Kings an' Emp'rors do n't git the like uv them! Your supper, or dinner, is alwuz swimmin' in thet pond; your'n fer the takin' an' never nuthin' ter pay—Kings an' Emp'rors do n't git the like of them pick'rel!"

"Go 'long!" and at the bidding the sleek, sturdy horse went carefully down the rocky descent, until the wheels with hollow sound crossed the rough plank bridging above a hurrying brook, gaily singing its way through the wooded solitude. As the driver gave rein the obedient creature pulled eagerly up the steep ascent past wide acres of harvested corn-field. Beyond the long rows of stacked sheaves, their tasselled tops answering in soft cadence to the pattering of the raindrops, the crumbling bricks of a chimney-top showed sharply against the drifting storm-clouds of a boundless hori-

zon, and quickly the low, spreading gable of a time-worn, weather-stained house greeted their expectant eyes.

"Th-ir-ty a-cres!" exclaimed the Agent indicating by a wide sweep of his arm the entire woodland country about them.

"Young growin' timber ready fer market—there's money in holdin' part, there's money in your pocket ev'ry time you warm yourself to a fire thet grows on your lan'! Ther's acres cleared fer corn thet we jest passed an' ther's your house, built an' planned ter your hand! Seven rooms; barns an' sheds, all waitin' your steppin' in an' livin' in 'em! There's apple orchards, bearin' crops as you wont often see! The pond's full uv fish ter be had fer the takin'! There's game in the woods—ever hunt? No? My son he's a sure shot; he's taught some uv the finest shots in the country how ter use their gun. These woods 'bout here are runnin' in game! When you're choppin' or ploughin' jest hev your gun handy an' pritty soon you see a rabbit—fine eatin' rabbits! Bring a big price in the market! Jest a little snap uv the trigger an' there's your dinner ready an' waitin' ter take home when noon-hour comes!"

The dull, absorbed gaze of the foreign-born man clung fixedly to the gray land-

scape. A look of halting uncertainty overspread the wide-featured, somewhat doggedly determined face. The solitary dwelling, the lonely field rescued from the once limitless forests, appealed to him with a curious fascination as the fluent discourse of his companion fell with but faint comprehension upon his senses.

"Thet's strange!" and the Agent assumed a puzzled look as he slowly drew the long key from the door which refused to open. He looked up quickly to his client.

"My wife said ter me when I brought you home ter dinner—you saw my wife?"

"Yaas," assented the foreigner with drawing docility.

"Thet gen'leman!" said she ter me, speakin' uv you, 'is frum the city'; she knows folks et first sight! 'He's a bizness man,' sez she, 'an' you must n't be careless er nuthin' ter waste his time; an' now see what I've done!"

He looked thoughtfully at the weather-beaten door; did the refusal of the key to turn the lock mean that it was broken? The rain-drops from the over-hanging porch-roof splashed steadily on the door-stone in hurrying monotone.

"This," he held out the long iron key, "belongs to a house over the other side the mountain thet I sold day before yesterday to a man from the city. He came here ter derscribe ter me jest such a place ez he wanted. Sez I, 'I've got thet place, the ve-ry one your're lookin' fer! It's right here in this town!' He looked et me kinder queer, an' he sez, 'I've been lookin' fer this place fer two years, it's cost me more'n a hundred dollars, 'cause I aint been treated so gen'rous an' han'sum ez I hev by you. If you've got the place I want,' sez he, 'an' then he put his han' inter his pocket an' drew out a roll uv bills; he hunted 'em all over—they wuz all big ones—till he come ter a twenty-dollar bill—twuz the smallest uv all! 'Thet twenty-dollar bill,' sez he, 'is your'n ef you've got the place I want.' 'No, my friend,' sez I, 'put up your money; thet aint the way I do bizness. I'm a

plain countryman; I was raised a farmer; these hills hev alwuz been my home an' I could n't take nuthin' but a plain commission same ez we agreed. Ef I find the place you want it's so much to me, an' my part's done.'"

The foreigner nodded assentingly as the Agent paused, his eyes interrogating those of his client.

"The same ez I told you!" emphasized the Agent.

"Yaas," acquiesced the man.

"An'," sez I, 'ef I do n't find the place you want there's no charges betwixt us, I give you my time free, my horsepality, my team!'"

"I say the same to all!" he ejaculated convincingly. "What I'm doing is to bring the best people ter come an' live in this town thet I can find; I live here myself an' I want good people roun' me. Thet's why I took 'im to see the place I knew he wanted; thet's why I'm bringing you here. When he looked at everything he said ter me, 'Where's your Justice of the Peace? I want this place an' I want my writin's made and signed before I sleep to-night.' 'Wait till mornin',' sez I, 'bizness aint done best thet's done in a hurry—an' you'll pardon me,' I added, 'fer you know more of bizness in a year than we country people in a lifetime!' But he would n't! I could n't stop 'im! We went to the justice an' he hed his papers made an' signed before he would go ter bed thet night!"

"This key!" and again he held it before the dull gaze of his client, "belongs to his house. He's gone ter bring his wife an' childrun an' he left this with me 'till they get here. It looks the same ez the key ter this house an' I've been an' made a bungling mistake, jest ez my wife warned me uv not doin'. I'll give one more turn an' see if 't wont unlock this door."

Trying the key carefully in all possible ways availed nothing; he must come another day with tools for needed repairs before the long-rusted bolt would yield. Was there a fatality of failure following his efforts to sell this lapce? He had

sold many a farm during the time he had held this one.

"Look here!"

He turned from the doorstone and passing to the nearest window raised it.

"Your wife won't hev no fear uv tramps. Look what honest folks we be, winder's free ter all. The doors we lock jest fer lettin' our nebbors know we aint ter hum."

The vacant house gave back their footsteps with careful accuracy as the Agent led the way through the square front rooms looking over to the western hills. Behind the inhospitable door steeply climbing stairs entered the attic beneath the low-gabled roof. A long, low-studded kitchen formed the ell of the house where from the ceiling stout iron hooks reached downward; relics of long past customs of 'ye olden tyme,' when at the harvest-tide o' year the drying apples sliced and threaded, hung festooned like flower-chains from the hooks of the ceiling; where on slim rods passed through the flat-turned ends, rings of golden pumpkin mellowed for the winter season. As the Agent swung wide two doors of heavy plank, that at the end of the room secured those within from intrusion of wind and weather, the rusted cranes and pothooks in the broad, blackened fireplace creaked hoarsely and the incoming wind sighed mightily as it crossed the threshold of long ago.

"Look et thet brick-work! No one knows better how ter jedge uv thet then you. Fine, solid, no sech work ez thet by the job."

"Vary good; sulid, strong," assented the foreigner, his gaze passing curiously from the ancient hearthstone out through the door leading to the wood-shed beyond.

"Fine water," explained the ready Agent, pointing to the open well protected by platform and railing, above which hung the typical bucket, warped and time-dried, sunken from the rusted iron bands fastened to a heavy chain wound upon a wooden roller, by which it was laboriously raised from its dripping dip in the depth of the earth.

"Thet well never went dry eny year sence this house was built! Thet water is colder 'n ice an' clear ez a crystal. See this!" he exclaimed with emphasis as, crossing the room, he pointed to a broken window-pane.

"This is the only damage this house hez ter show. Here's a winder pane broke out! Could you believe thet an empty house with icicles freezin' an' thawin' and drippin' from the eaves, would hev but one pane broke out! One winter I hed five panes uv glass thet got broke from the trees in my yeard snappin' icicles onter 'em. Look et them timbers, the same all the way over this house. Ever see floor-boards the width uv them now-a-days! You can't buy it fer money! You've got ter buy an ole-time house like this one is, ter git timbers sech ez them be."

The Agent closed the outer doors of the kitchen, drew the rusted bolts with a sharp click that again left the room to the silence of the past; pointing to the broken pane he led the way to the front room where both men climbed from the window as they had entered.

Beneath his stolid exterior the foreign-born man was hesitating before the realization of a great desire beckoning him onward, thrusting itself within his grasp as the Agent again pointed across the broad stubbled acres of stacked corn-sheaves; the sloping, verdant field of rowen; the wind-swept apple orchard where the old trees, bent and gnarled, were yet alive with the fruit-graft separating them from their kindred of the forest. To these unknown hills he had found his way directed by his countryman the pack-peddler, who during a summer's tramping over the far, strange country of the new world, had found amid a hamlet remote from the civilization of factory or railroad, a few families speaking the language of home. A group of people alien and apart from those about them, tilling the hillside acres, the barren, stony, forest-grown soil of long-abandoned

farms. In the dust and sweat of toil in the grim, gray quarries by the sea, the quarryman pondered the pack-peddler's account of these people of his own tongue, living among the hills of the unknown, inland country, until the awakened desire for the field-life such as he had known in the old world, became the determination of the future. As he sat stolidly gazing over the bleak landscape, only half-comprehending the persuasive words of the Agent, he listened in bewildered uncertainty, beset with the desire of possession yet conscious that possession meant parting from the carefully-hoarded, slowly-earned money.

Leaving the woodland road they came to an open common, "ye olden tyme Muster-Field" of those days when memories of the colonial struggle were yet part of fireside tales and muster-day a gala celebration. School and meeting-house stood upon its outskirts; the tall, slim spire above the white belfry, telling of that freedom once named Puritanism, swung proudly its gilded vane. Here the road descended abruptly to where grouped in the basin of land between long ranges of foot-hills, were the homes and shops of the hamlet. So irregularly did the buildings stand that looking down upon them from the hill-top no two were at the same level of perspective.

Turning abruptly from the main thoroughfare, the Agent and his companion stopped before a cottage-house, a narrow strip of grass alone separating the steps of the house-door from a too sudden descent upon the highway. The exterior seemed seriously forbidding, the shades at the front windows were closely drawn, green paper at the ground-glass panels of the door kept all possible light from penetrating within. As the Agent pulled the bell-handle, that moved with creaking unreadiness, the call rang out resonantly, stirring echoes of vacancy in the hall within. Quickly in response light footsteps were heard running along the path from the side entrance, until at the corner of the house a young girl stood staring curiously.

As the Agent, bidding her good afternoon, swept a hand from his hat-brim with great courtesy, a flash of amusement lighted her eyes, and her look passed swiftly to the occupant of the carriage, peering curiously at the scene before him.

"Is the Justice of the Peace at home?" asked the Agent with unruffled politeness.

The girl nodded.

"I have here a new citizen who wishes to see him on important business."

The mirth in the girl's eyes was the only response as she turned swiftly away. Soon foot-steps were heard within, there was a movement of the key in the door and a slim man of stooping mien, his glancing eyes as quickly evading all responses to the scrutiny his own evinced, greeted the Agent.

"Mr. Justice of the Peace," said the Agent, "this gen'lman is a new citizen. Let me make you known to Mr. Wasman."

"Viesnouw, Petrovitch Viesnouw," corrected the foreigner, staring straight into the face of the "Justice," who, having led the way within stood fidgeting with the documentary paper on the table before him, glancing up only at the formal point of introduction.

"Pardon me, my friend," said the Agent. "I am an uneducated man. I only know my own language; you will excuse me!" Emphasizing his apology with a bow to his client he motioned him to a seat, placing himself at an angle of observation where he could catch the eye of the Justice unnoticed by his companion.

Justice and Agent knew each other well. The Justice gaining his living by politics in a town so small that all possible offices combined gave but a meager living, knew that each word the Agent now addressed to him was in purpose intended to influence his client; a final statement setting the seal of veracity on all he had previously said of the property he desired to sell. Politically these two men were bitter opponents. The Agent in discussing probable elections always

referred to the Justice as a "slippery fellow!" Yet being of a party doubtful in success, when with the "Justice" he was mindfully aware that political influence may be availed equally by all voters; while the Justice, notwithstanding that he belonged to the winning side, knew that unforeseen local prejudice does sometimes in minor offices break the line of party successes; it was always judicious to secure at the polls some margin on which to build against the day of need. Individually the Justice was an honest man, in personal relations he never exacted a shilling beyond the value given; but politics! that game of chance with all the intrigues of human ingenuity against one; a game of which the brief code is that nothing else succeeds like success!

Every one in the village knew that the Justice from being the humblest henchman of his party, commencing as a young man with the smallest paying office of the town, had steadily attained success until now every emolument of value, with the final honors of the Great and General Court, adding their undeniable luster of importance and prosperity to a successful career, were his to command.

"You know the farm, Mr. Justice?"

The Justice nodded briefly. The old farm stripped of valuable timber; overrun with weeds; bought at forced sale by the Agent for two hundred and fifty dollars; did not every villager know the history of that farm? Every eye seeing the Agent drive past in the direction of those acres with a possible purchaser beside him, looked to wonder how he would this time manage the sale to procure his usual profit.

"My friend pays ten hundred," the Justice hesitated in the stroke of his pen, involuntarily listening as if to assure himself he heard correctly.

"Ten hundred *down*," emphasized the Agent. The furtive eyes of the Justice stole a look at the stolidly unconscious face.

"I am willing to advise my son-in-law,"

continued the Agent, "to sell him the farm in this way, taking a small mortgage of two hundred, and as our friend wants this farm but has not means beyond this sum, I shall not charge my usual commission—that we had agreed upon," he looked to his client for assent.

"Yaas," said the man placidly acquiescent; "ten hundred is the most we've got, me an' my wife."

The Agent for the first time since entering the room now leaned back in his chair in silence, while the pen of the law swept with deliberate care over the large documentary paper of the deed.

"That is the place for you to sign," observed the Justice, pointing to the line as he turned the paper toward the client.

"Yaas," said the foreigner, looking from his seat with curiously placid attention upon the unintelligible writing.

The Agent rose quickly, taking the pen from the Justice.

"Sit up to the table!" he exclaimed eagerly.

"I take it first to me freend; he tell me if I want that farm."

"Your friend!" exclaimed the Agent, dismayed.

"You cannot take that deed away from here! You could not permit that Mr. Justice," he concluded in a more suave voice, turning to the Justice.

"There are no signatures to the deed," he responded quietly; his eyes surveyed the client a full second,—he saw more clearly than the Agent. The man was not yet satisfied to the point of handing over his money.

"I bring him here after he tell me if I like the farm," assented the foreigner indifferently.

"Bring him from where?" queried the Agent keenly.

"I dunno jus' whar," said the man searching his pocket and producing a paper on which the pack-peddler had written an address.

"Some part this town," he explained, laying the paper on the table for inspection.

Agent and Justice bent quickly to read the name.

"Lives over east," said the Justice.

"But, Mr. Justice!" The Agent spoke smoothly, though a sense of weariness of the work yet to be done faced him grimly, "you are a busy man; every moment is occupied; this deed must be executed in your presence."

The Justice hesitated. The eyes of the Agent met his with scrutinizing keenness. In the balance of self-interest he wavered.

"This deed," he said, "must be signed when written, or the expense doubled to the purchaser," He spoke slowly, his eyes shrewdly reading the uncertain, half-yielding, half-stubbornly resisting look of the client.

II.

A dimly-burning lamp cast but a faint light deepening the shadows at either end of the long kitchen. A woman sat at a coarse wooden table in an attitude of deepest dejection, the sleeves of her work-dress rolled to the elbow, showed her strong, shapely arms resting on the cleanly-scrubbed surface; her head was bowed in her hands; her heavy breathing was occasionally broken by a moan as of physical anguish followed by a long-drawn sobbing breath; then as one who regains control of despair she sat quietly until the agony of pain smote her. She was tall of stature; that nature had made her both strong and shapely of build was evident from the bared arms, the fine shoulders bowed in dejection. Near her a man was sitting in the drunken, sodden mood of half-stupefied unconsciousness. Though of large and ponderous frame, he lacked the physical poise of the woman, almost his equal in height.

From the dying embers on the hearth a brand suddenly blazed up in sharp tongues of flame, casting a bright glow far across the room. Lifting her bowed head from her hands she looked about her with questioning in her eyes. The man, momentarily wakened as the wind

in sudden gust dashed the rain against the window-panes, raised his head, and a half-smile came into his bleared eyes as with dull grasp at consciousness he said thickly: "Do n' cry, I'm here!"

Her eyes rested on him for an instant, then with a moan of anguish more intense than before, her head sank into her hands. Something in her voice seemed to pierce his understanding. He stirred, looking steadily toward her as one trying to dispel a clouded vision that bewildered him. Slowly reaching to the arms of the chair in which he sat, twice he tried to rise before he stood upon his feet, then gathering his poise for the effort he staggered forward to the table beside the woman.

"Do n' cry," he repeated with maudlin tenderness. "I'm here!"

As his hand touched her shoulder she lifted her head.

"Get away from me!" Her voice was quiet, the low-spoken words authoritative, her eyes held him steadily with an unflinching control.

"You mon speak like thot way to me," he muttered with lowering brow. It was but a brief moment until his eyes shrank away from her look.

"You mon speak like thot way to me," he repeated in whining defiance. Turning from her, again by careful effort he steadied himself until he regained his chair. For a moment he held to the arms, then slowly sinking to his seat his head dropped forward, his eyes closed dully and his breathing was heavy from exhaustion.

The woman watched him keenly. Despair and anguish seemed battling with resentment in the look she fixed upon him. Again he roused uneasily, as one dimly conscious of her watchfulness. He open his bleared eyes. Meeting his look she spoke in the same quiet, low tone, that in the stillness following a momentary lull in the storm without, seemed to vibrate from the very heart-pulse of her being.

"Why are you like this so soon?"

She paused for the full meaning of her words to reach his understanding.

"Because you lied to me!"

"Naw, naw"; he spoke with unexpected energy. "I naw lied." A look of anxiety came over his face.

"You lied to me," she reiterated. "You told me this be a prohibit town."

"It be!" he urged. "It be prohibit town; I naw lied," he repeated anxiously.

"Then how do you be like this each time you are to the village—*thot Tavern!*"

"The town be prohibit, jes' as I tell you; the Tavern, they sell it '*on the quiet.*'" He nodded in maudlin imitation of the manner that passed from man to man telling of the hidden bar in the old Tavern of the little hamlet.

The woman looked puzzled.

"*'On the quiet!'*" he repeated, the maudlin, significant smile still on his face.

"Oh!" she exclaimed as slowly she gathered the meaning.

"An' do they call it '*on the quiet*' when you come like this from the Tavern, when the men lay by the road with the empty bottles alongside?"

"They say to me when I look to buy the farm, 'Yes, this town be prohibit,' jes' the same I tell you," he urged.

"They lied to you!"

"Naw, naw," he maintained. "The town do vote prohibit, they mos'ly like the town thot way; but the Tavern sell '*on the quiet*' so thot some one will be lan'lord an' the property not to go to fail; the Selec'men want the town not hurt thot way."

"An' which do the people mean when they vote, prohibit or liquor—when they lie that people do buy farms! Is it they—your freen's"—her voice was keen with scorn—"thot have it '*on the quiet*' to save the place from fail; is they the freen's that make you go into the biz'ness 'till the horses starve an' we be in ruin?"

"I take the contrac' to haul too much lumber too cheap," he muttered. "I hod the men to work for the feed while they learn the new country, I know I do it cheaper than one other; but 't was too cheap, too cheap."

"Too cheap for you, but not for them, that when the horses starve an' die for work, they spoil the contrac' an' pay you no more—those men '*on the quiet*' to keep the Tavern from fail! But we! we are gone; it is no more tryin' to get on thot we can do; the charge from the store is a big cheat, it ruin us!"

"Naw, naw!" said the man with bluster, raising a hand and with faint effort failing to snap his fingers, as dismissing the subject thus lightly. "He be my freen'; the bill not ruin us!"

He leaned forward, the maudlin smile again lighted his face, his eyes gleamed cunningly. "I do him good turn, great turn, make him all right; he cannot go back of me!" Then resting against his chair, his head settled forward and the stupor overcame him.

She watched him for a moment.

"Petrovitch!"

He roused, looking at her dimly.

"What be the turn you do him?"

With an exclamation of surprise, he stared at her.

"Tell me what be the turn you do thot man, you call your freen', this one who makes us the cheat bill we never eat."

"Yes, I do him turn," he assented.

"What turn?" she insisted.

He made an effort to gather his thoughts straightening up in his chair.

"Tell me," she repeated.

"Course; yes, I tell you. 'T was a big thing for him I did; he be the pos'man——"

"Yes, go on; he be pos'man."

"Yes; the people not want him, he mix all their letters up, everywhere, the same he sent your letter to Alexandre, not to you where it was meant. The people all got mad, everywhere, send a long paper away telling the man who makes all the pos'man, all over the country, all about him, that they not want him any more; but that man what makes everybody pos'man, be his freen', not the freen' of the man they want; he send an' tells him, send another paper how everybody, everywhere, wants him, an' likes him before anyone, an' every one

must sign it, to make the other paper lie; he tells me he wants 'long names, very many,' I tell him 'Yes, I see it all'; I tell town-officers I want my name, your name, the chil'r'n's, all the men, put against the paper to make the lie on the other'; he thank me that I do him big turn, he says, 'ahwuz, I be your freen', Petro.'

The man leaned back in his chair, a confident smile on his face.

"Listen! thot man come this day, with one little man with sharp eye; a man that carries the law with him"; she spoke more slowly than before, giving each word full meaning to his dull senses. "He show me thot bill, long; they read it, lots bigger than I cook, I know what I cook better 'an they. He tell me thot bill got to be paid an' because I eat the things an' my chil'r'n, I got to pay. I say, 'I have no money,' the Sheariff say, 'You own this place, this be money for you to pay with'; I say, I no sell my place to eat your food I never had, an' for all I eat you got your pay; you got the hay out the barn thot the horses starve for, you got hens, little chicks an' all the eggs I send all the time to pay an' much money all the time along. Petrovitch have pay you all. I never have cook so much thot paper tell of.' The man he called Sheariff looked to him *steady*, somethin' in the look of his eyes thot I see they both see together. Then the Sheariff say: 'You have eat all them on the paper, the paper tells about each day you have them, the law make you pay for eatin', you cannot eat this good man's food an' not pay him for it. I am the law to make things as I say. You be a woman an' I aint hard to no woman, I will do a good thing to you all, your husban' an' chil'r'n. This place is money to you, it's all goin' the way of ruin, lan' runnin' out, for your man lets it get behind what it was when you buy it —"

Curses interrupted her.

"Stop!" she commanded.

The man was ashen pale, the moisture was on his face in great drops and he shrank back in his chair, silent before her outstretched arm.

"You be terrible enough, Petrovitch, but you not curse your God."

"He lies," he muttered, thickly.

"I tell you!" she assented.

"I work all two years, you work, the men the summer for the feed; we break new lan', we seed an' grow new crops!" he drew his breath sharply between his set teeth, his hands were clenched, he was struggling against his rage; "*He lies!*" he muttered; "*lies!*"

"Listen!" she interrupted. "There is more! He say he got good, small farm, big as we want for us, no hard work to run, you an' me; no feed for men to make bills at the store; no horses to keep for grain at the store; he say pigs an' chicks he call mine to take away; he give me thot farm for this an' call the bill pay up, if I put my writin' on a paper he have with him."

"Did yer?" he whispered hoarsely, his hands shaking as he tried to hold to the arms of the chair.

"Naw!" she exclaimed broadly, contempt in her voice. "I see they lie to me. If they lie one time they do it more; I not trust them any." Swiftly she lifted her hands above her head, a moan of anguish came from her lips, sobs followed, her control was nearly gone.

"Oh, Petrovitch!" she cried, "you must see Alexandre, he must help us! It's the Tavern an' the men 'on the quiet' hav' put you in the ruin! We earn lots money at the quarrees, it be all gone! We must go hom', back to our people!"

"I no goin' back," he muttered doggedly. "I'll live in a free country!"

"A free country is not for us. I'm goin' hom'; I'm goin' to my own people; Alexandre will get me money for I not writ on any paper as he tol' me not, since I writ when we buy the farm!"

With a wail of anguish she threw herself forward upon the table, Instantly the dimly-burning lamp went out as the shattered globe fell in scattering pieces; suddenly the veering wind struck fiercely upon the house, rattling the rain like hail against the window panes; only the

stumbling, uncertain steps of the man broke the silence within.

Sweeping down from the hill-tops the rain came in gusts, the fast-falling drops were hurled by the wind with battling fury against the window-panes at the front of the old house. With the passing of the night the blackness of the storm became thick with mist; a drifting, floating atmosphere enshrouded the rain-beaten dwelling, where through the time-worn window casings streams of water found their way within.

In the square front room looking toward the northern peak of the mountain range, a door was pushed cautiously open. The swaying light from a lantern penetrating the darkness, showed two canvas-stretched cots, drawn to the center of the room. Across the coarse, brown ticking filled with freshly-dried husks from the corn-field, a broad width of sheeting was drawn from side to side; the widening circle of light from the lantern as the bearer advanced unsteadily into the room, showed the faces of two small children, their pillowless heads close together in soundest, rosiest sleep, a red blanket tucked warmly about them. As the flaring light of the lantern reached to the cot beyond, it rested on the face of a girl only a few years older, yet with a thin wanness of feature, a look of age and anxiety far beyond that of a child. Stooping by the side of the cot the man shook her by the arm.

"Wake yer!" he said in a husky whisper, intended not to rouse the young children, "Wake yer!"

She opened her eyes, dimly conscious of the call, and raised one arm to shield her face from the light.

"Wake yer now; mother wants the doctor."

"Yes," she responded, "I'll come."

"Dress yourself; quick, hurry," he said turning away.

"The doctor?" questioned the child, a frightened anxiety coming into her face.

"Yes, git along quick," he answered roughly.

"The men!" she exclaimed.

"You'll go for the doctor," he commanded, as he went from the room carrying the lantern with him.

She reached for her clothes and dressing swiftly, groped her way into the kitchen which was lighted only by her father's lantern gleaming faintly into the long room through the open door from the woodshed without.

Silently, her bare feet making no sound, she went toward the door of her mother's room; with fingers eagerly on the latch she suddenly caught her breath in alarm as a low moan from within startled her; there was a moment of hesitation, a moment of struggling against her fear of the night and the storm. Was she the only one to go? Were the men all drunk from being at the terrible Tavern? Trembling, she crossed the room to the closet under the garret-stairs where from a wooden peg she took down her coat, searching for a worsted hood to replace the straw hat of summer.

"Come 'long!" called her father impatiently, as her shrinking figure appeared in the doorway.

The gleam from the low-swinging lantern showed only the trodden foot-path to the barn; following closely her father's steps the girl dared not look above the narrow circle of light, where all beyond was blackness impenetrable. The rain pattering gently, fell upon her head and shoulders; the wind blowing softly was lulled into a passing quiet from the wildness of its mood.

In the barn she shrank into the shadows of the doorway; here a new fear seized her, a fear suddenly become real beside the unknown terrors of darkness. It was rarely that she came to the old barn since she had seen the stark, lifeless form of the last work-horse the men drew out from the stall to bury in the corn-field. The children played there as before, they seemed not to miss the mild faces of the long, furry-eared work-horses that had gazed with large, benevolent eyes from between the bars of the hay-cribs, whinnying at the sound of her foot-steps, munching the apples and grass she fed

to them with patient faithfulness as their great frames grew month by month more lank and bony. The only one of the four to survive hard usage and short fare, was "Ole-Tough-Sides," as he was called by the men. She listened to the harnessing, the muttered oaths and threats her father showered upon him, knowing by the familiar routine how surely the moment of her departure was nearing—she had heard the men tell the number of times during a trip that "Ole-Tough-Sides" had "tumbled down"; was it when he tried to haul the lumber after his mate died and he was the only one left, or was it always that he "tumbled down" when he was driven? Her heart thumped, thumped, with fear, as the light from the lantern circled out onto the barn-floor and the old horse was led to the open wagon. She watched the raw-boned creature backed into the shafts, a few straps were buckled, a lantern lighted and hung low at the front of the dasher showing the way of the road for him to tread.

"Where are yer?" called her father looking around into the dim shadows of the barn. "Come 'ere!"

Obediently she raised a bare foot to the iron step and allowed him to lift her into the vehicle. He gave her the reins, and she clasped them in desperate clutch, one in each hand, pressing her feet against the iron foot-bar in front of the old leather dasher.

"Look 'ere!" he said, as one suddenly put in remembrance, "when yer git to the main-road pull the rein ter the doctor's, ef yer let 'im go he 'll keep 'long ter the Tavern; look sharp now an' pull the rein the side yer want ter go, yer 've been ter school on ther team an' took them reins; yer wont meet no one, an' ef yer do he knows how ter turn the road. Go 'long!"

The old horse moved stiffly forward. At the door of the barn a gust of wind pelting the rain in his face, stopped him.

"Go 'long!" yelled the man with an oath.

Quickly the horse pulled to one side, away from the voice of his master who

staggered up to him, brandished the lantern and shouted hoarsely. "Ole-Tough-Sides" shying in fear, plunged out into the darkness of the storm. As the wheels grated roughly against the rocky descent and the patient creature found that he was unassailed, the habits of early good training asserted themselves, and slackening his pace he went clumsily down the descent.

Gradually the child became conscious beyond the grasp of her hands on the reins, as she sat staring with terrified eyes at the pale circle of light, which showed only the lank, bony back of the old horse carefully making his way through the darkness. As the land-marks by the way became familiar, her heart beat less violently. She could hear the brook running wildly, calling like a mountain torrent as it echoed its hurrying course beneath the planking of the bridge. Making the ascent from the ravine, knowing that a long, level stretch of road lay before her until they came to the open plateau of the Muster-Field above the village, she ventured to hurry forward faster than the slow walk. Shaking the reins being of no avail, with an effort she gathered her voice until at this eager solicitation the old horse broke into his habitual jog-trot, the ill-fitting harness slapping against his gaunt frame. Thus they traveled on into the darkness, the wind swaying the trees on either side of the narrow road, while the mist drifting past the lantern's rays, circled the guiding light in weird, shadowy blackness. She had now no landmark by which to know the way; her ears had grown accustomed to the incessant swaying of the trees; she did not heed the sudden veering of the wind, nor did she take warning as the mist drifted past with rapidly increasing swiftness and the rain-drops fell thickly. The old horse, more wise in weather-lore than she, slackened his gait, resuming his moderate walk as the rain swept toward them in gusts. Finding that her voice no longer prevailed with him, she gathered the end of the reins, reaching confidently forward

to make insistent her command. Suddenly the wind swept furiously upon her, the rain splashed her in sheets, instantly all was darkness and "Ole-Tough-Sides" came to a deliberate halt. In alarm she lost her grasp on the reins as clinging to the dasher with straining eyes that sought in vain to penetrate the darkness, she called aloud. Above the snapping and swirling of the trees that seemed bending to envelop her, seeking to urge the old horse forward, conscious that her voice was swept from her lips, borne afar by the rushing wind; through the wildness of the storm, she heard the click, click of an unknown sound. Pausing to listen, there was a moment's lull in the fierceness of the gale and again, very near her, came the click, click, in strangely sharp distinctness. Crouching in the front of the wagon she reached forward to touch the horse; her hand searched questioningly along his rough coat. No; he had not fallen, he was still standing in the harness, and now again came that fearful sound; the branches swaying as if drawn towards her by an unseen hand. Unreasoning terror overcame the frightened child. There were wild animals in the woods! the men had seen them in the day-time; often she was awakened in the night by the mournful baying of the coon-hounds upon the hillsides; was there a wildcat, a coon, a fox crouching in the bushes by the road? She dared not even move back to her seat—and her message—the dire need! The face from the bright-colored print on the wall above her mother's bed floated across her vision; the smiling, gentle face she knew so well! Closing her eyes, the foreign-born peasant child from a far country, prayed her prayer in a strange tongue, and because the prayer brought solace, the child renewed her petition with heart grown confident. Though her words were few, before they were said a second time she felt a conscious lifting of the darkness about her. Opening her eyes she saw dimly through the mist the familiar outline of the old horse quietly feeding from the

rain-drenched, wind-whipped bushes of the roadside! She heard wonderingly the click, clicking of the heavy bits, as she saw him stop and reaching into the bushes pull toward him the branches, gathering hungrily of twig and foliage. "Ole-Tough-Sides" was happily feeding!

Through a rift in the storm-clouds flying low overhead, a dull, gray light showed the narrow way of the forest road. Darkness still wrapped the woods in impenetrable gloom, but the path before her lay distinct to a near bend of the road; beyond lay the open plateau of the Muster-Field; below stretched the sleeping village. Gathering the reins, she guided the horse into the beaten track.

The Doctor's wife stirred from her sleep and remembering the duties of life even when but half-awake to the world, sat up in bed, listening with the attention of experience. The bell must have rung very faintly, she detected only a reverberation. Having so faithful a companion the Doctor never gave heed to the call of the night-bell. Only when his wife reached the conclusion that brought her into slippers and wrapper, was he in turn instinctively aroused. When she spoke on leaving the room he was already half-conscious of a possible night-trip.

With feminine caution, that can be wholly brave in facing known danger, the Doctor's wife was suspicious of some happening that might come unawares; for which reason a foot-hassock had permanent place in the corner of the hall back of the glass where the night-light shone out; stepping on this she invariably viewed the little porch of the house-door through a small, smooth bit of space in the ground-glass of the hall window.

To-night, from the face of a child, large anxious eyes were gazing reprovingly into hers as she peered with habitual caution through this small peek-hole of security. Even as she stepped down from the hassock her hand reached swiftly forward to open the door. Quickly she drew the slim, drenched little figure into

the hall-way as the child was asking anxiously: "Will the Doctor go to mother, the new baby's coming?"

"Yes, he'll go at once!" and the Doctor's wife spoke with decision, as holding the child by the hand she called out quickly, "Right away!" and the answer came back, "All right!" in a voice the child recognized.

"Come with me," and with a kindness that was also insistence she led the way to the warm kitchen where a light was burning. Deftly she touched the drafts of the stove, which like everything else belonging to the household hastened to answer her bidding. The blaze crackled hurriedly, the tea-kettle as she drew it forward gave out a breath of warm steam suggestive of hot drinks.

"You are drenched through," she affirmed gently, as she carefully stripped the soaked coat from the cotton dress and removed the dripping hood.

Swinging wide the oven-door her eyes softened tenderly at the sight of the blue, bare limbs of the child. Quickly she drew a chair before the out-pouring warmth, bidding her sit down.

"Ah! Ivonne!" said the Doctor kindly. "So the new baby's coming?" His eyes meanwhile were answering an unspoken question of his wife's.

"And you got over the measles, all right—and both the children?" he added, looking attentively at the scarlet cheeks and brightly luminous eyes of the child. "I want you to stay with my wife and have a good sleep; in the morning you can go home and take care of the new baby."

"Yes, sir," said Ivonne obediently.

Then as the hoof-beats of the Doctor's quick-traveling horse swept by the house from the barn beyond, Ivonne started up.

"My horse!" she exclaimed anxiously.

"Yes, my dear! the boy put him in the stable; he'll rest and have a good breakfast."

"Will he?" said Ivonne, wonderingly. "I'm so glad!" and as she met the questioning look in the eyes of the Doctor's

wife she said: "I'm afraid the other horses died because there was n't enough to eat."

The Doctor's wife had not seen "Ole-Tough-Sides," but as she looked into the child's face she remembered many of the homes upon the distant hillsides, where she had been with her husband as he drove the long miles of his practice.

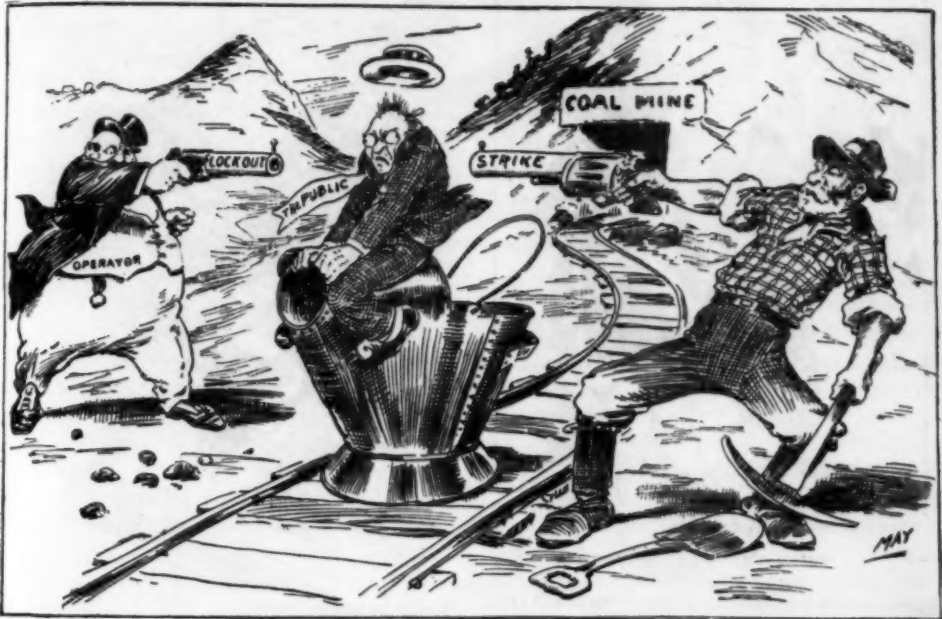
With the coming of dawn, when the first faint roseate glow tinted the purpling east, the low-lying mist covering the forest-girded pond, rose from the surface of the water like the wraith of a soul set free. Within the time-worn house on the plateau above, the wearied arms that had tilled the barren acres of the farm; the strong hands clasping to her breast the form of the new-born child, slipped from their frail burden, as the great summit of the western range flashed forth, radiant in the morning light.

The splendor of the dawn marked the last autumnal day of the year. From the snow-covered pinnacle of the western range, winter in fleecy flakes soon drifted down upon the world below, whitening field and fallow. From a hillside above the village where a steeply climbing road winds in narrow trail along the forest slopes, stands the home of Alexandre. During a hundred years have the old windows looked down upon the clustering houses of the hamlet, sheltered warmly where converging ranges meet and part. Here in the square, front room are gathered the belongings of Ivonne's home. Here the child, aided by Alexandre's wife, cares for the younger children with that instinct of motherliness known only among the children of the poor. The older to the younger, child-mothers of unnumbered generations! In the far-distant quarries by the sea, Petrovitch is once again a hewer of granite, clinging in dumb, unreasoning desire to the country of his adoption.

ANTOINETTE McKIM.

Cambridge, Mass.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS
SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



May, in *Detroit Journal*.

"THE INNOCENT SPECTATOR."



Campbell, in *Philadelphia North American*.

"NO DIVORCE HERE!"

"The growing frequency of divorces is threatening the nation's safety."—GOVERNOR PENNYPACKER.



Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

"NEVER WILL I COMPROMISE MY DIGNITY FOR THE SAKE OF SECURING PEACE."—RUSSIA.



Drawn by Ryan Walker.

WHEN THE WAR IS OVER.

"About the only indemnity that the Russian and Jap private soldier will get."



Warren, in Boston Herald.

"I HAVE COME BACK TO THE STORM-CENTER."
—SENATOR DEPEW.



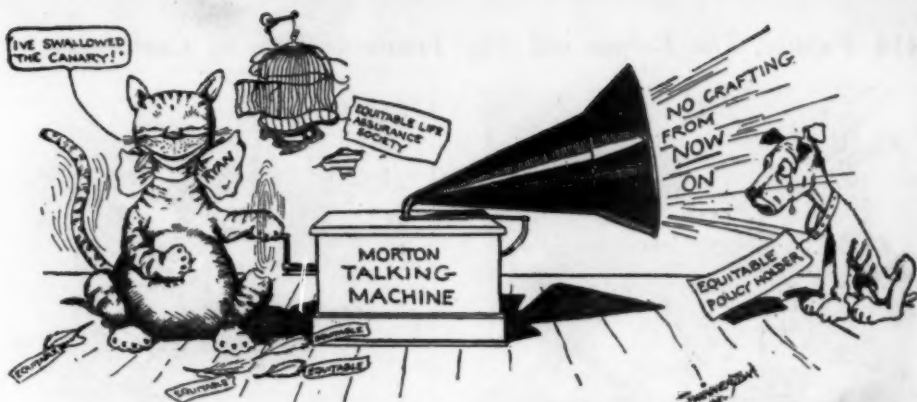
Bush, in New York World.

"AT LAST!"



Bush, in New York World.

THE KAISER—"THERE ARE OTHERS!"



Swinerton, in New York American.

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HIS MASTER'S VOICE.

"One thing I can say most emphatically—there will be no grafting from NOW on."—Paul Morton in an interview.



Opper, in New York American.

(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

"MILLIONS FOR US, BUT NOT ONE D— FOR THE PEOPLE."

EDITORIALS.

VICIOUS PHILOSOPHY WHICH IS THE HOPE OF THE GRAFTERS AND CORRUPTIONISTS.

EVILS may exist in society and evil-doers may long thrive without the heart of a nation or civilization being seemingly impaired. Men may, indeed, long be vaguely conscious of the presence of wrongs in a body-politic without the hideous facts being burned into the conscience in a compelling way. When, however, the grim and terrible truth is pressed home to the public consciousness and the people are aroused to the true condition, they can no longer be quit of responsibility. Then, if they remain inactive, if they fail to rise in their majesty and stamp out the iniquity and drive the evil-doers from the temple of government, they become accessories to the crime; for, knowing the evil and having the power to destroy it, they have condoned or ignored its presence. While ignorant of the true facts, or when vaguely conscious of the probability of evils being present, they were not morally contaminated, but when once the facts are brought home to them, if they fail in the solemn duty imposed by moral responsibility inherent to citizenship, then the nation suffers from the poison that is diffused throughout its organism. Ideals are lowered, moral integrity is impaired, and the nation suffers as only a small part of the people have heretofore suffered. Hence it is that periods of moral awakening and times when evils and corruption are uncovered become supreme crises in the history of nations and civilizations. Then it is that fate holds the balance and the people cast the determining weight which means life or death, glory or doom, the promise of renewed health or the destruction and the epitaph of the nations thus tried. Thus it is that great periods of moral awakening, when the eyes of a nation are opened and the vice and iniquity or injustice that their carelessness or indifference has long permitted, are always potentially glorious or tragic, and the duties or obligations impressed upon citizens and especially on the leaders of thought are graver and more solemnly portentous than during the long dormant spells when evil and corruption advance so stealthily and covertly that their presence is not recognized. It is a melancholy fact, however, that at the

great moral crises, such as the present hour, for example, there are always many well-meaning people who thoughtlessly throw the weight and force of their brain and moral influence on the side of darkness. To paraphrase a striking expression of Victor Hugo's, they pour darkness on a dawning day. The circumstance that they frequently are moved by the best of intentions does not alter the evil effect of their influence any more than the ignorance of the child saves the hand which it thrusts into the fire from being burned.

There is an old and excellent maxim which advises finding out what the enemy really desires and then doing the opposite. Now at the present time, when from the Atlantic to the Pacific the spiritual consciousness of the nation is being aroused to a realization of the moral diseases that have long been permeating the body-politic; now that evil is being unmasked in present-day business life and in municipal, state and national government; now that we have discovered the cancers that have long been eating into the vitals of the nation, impairing most seriously the integrity of state and individual; now that everywhere the evil-doers are trembling before the righteous indignation of a great people and the conscience of the citizens everywhere demands the righting of the wrongs and the restoration of the moral integrity that alone can make a nation truly great; now that everywhere the people are uniting to overthrow corrupt rings and immoral machines and to drive the corruptionists from seats of trust and the grafters from the temple of government, we have certain writers denouncing this crusade that promises so much,—this great unmasking of wrong that reveals the real diseased condition of present-day life and which has made immediate and thorough action essential to the rejuvenation of the republic and the ethical quickening of society. We are hearing cries of "Peace! Peace!" and arguments discouraging the further prosecution of the ring. If this cry of corruption and a demand for the ceasing of exposures of evil came merely from the citadels of the corruptionists, it would be neither surprising nor would it call for any

serious notice, but when this immoral attitude is assumed by those who stand as leaders and who are supposed to represent moral integrity, the potential evil of such attitude calls for the earnest attention of all friends of ethical advance. If this cry for an immediate cessation of exposures of corrupt conditions, which means the virtual throwing of a mantle over the diseased body-politic, after the people have beheld the eating sore but before they have applied the cautery, should have emanated merely from the corruptors and those who are responsible for the lowering of national ideals, there would be no occasion for surprise, nor would the matter be a subject for special notice. When, however, the opposition to a crusade for a moral reformation comes from those who pose as leaders of the people and upholders of sound ethics, it demands the serious consideration of all friends of progress and moral advance.

Mr. G. W. Alger, in a recent article on "The Literature of Exposure," bewails the general unmasking of corruption, graft, dishonesty and moral obloquy in official circles and among the leaders of the business world. This writer, we doubt not, is prompted by high motives. Nevertheless, he is giving aid and comfort to every trembling grafter, corruptionist and moral criminal who is quaking in the present moral awakening. When *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Times* created a moral uprising against the Tweed Ring, every effort possible was put forth by the thieves to stay the rising tide and put off any definite action on the part of the community. "It will all blow over," cheerfully exclaimed Mayor Hall, and that is the dearest hope of the corrupt bosses in Philadelphia, in New York and elsewhere to-day. That is the hope of the thieves and squanderers of the people's money in the Equitable Assurance Company and other organizations where the money of the people has been exploited for the enrichment of gamblers. Now men like Mr. Alger afford great comfort and aid to the grafters and corruptionists at crucial moments, as the whole effect of their writing is to throw cold water on the moral indignation created by the revelations of the existence of evil conditions that are destructive to free government and fatal to sound business methods. Mr. Alger would center the minds of the people on the lives of good men. Now we yield to none in insistence on the importance that should be attached to the lives and influence of good

men or women, or the importance of real constructive work.

THE ARENA, for example, has devoted, we believe, more space than any other leading review to fundamental constructive work and to emphasizing the lessons taught by the lives and work of real civilization-builders. But to divert attention in a moral crisis, like the present, from the evils already exposed, before the corrupt order has been overthrown and the evil-doers brought to punishment, is like trying to lure the fire department from its proper work of quenching the flames that are destroying a noble building, with the splendid music of a grand oratorio. There are times, and the present is such an occasion, when the first duty of all patriots is to fight corruption precisely as do men on the western prairies fight the great fires which, if not checked, will destroy the homes and sustenance of the settlers.

The most important lesson for the American people to learn to-day is that there can be no true peace, no enduring greatness, no real prosperity and progress, without sound moral foundations. The farmer buys a home. He finds it encircled with a board fence, and this fence is covered with a vine that has sent its tendrils into the wood and has become a mass of vegetation containing moisture and rapidly rotting the fence. At present the wall of green is beautiful, even as to those who saw only the external, Rome was gorgeous when, stricken in her vitals but arrayed in imperial splendor, she reeled forward to her doom, or as the foliage of an autumn tree or bush stricken with death is gorgeous to the eye. But the farmer knows that to save his fence he must remove the vine and paint the wood, else in a year or two there will be no fence. Now, it is so with corruption, dishonesty and immorality in national or business life. They may long eat into the vitals of government and the morals of the individual unseen, and perhaps by many unsuspected, because over them has been cast the mantle of wealth, conventionalism and respectability. Yet the hour comes when the people must by the might of a moral reformation purge themselves of the evil, or the destruction of the nation and the decadence of the individual is inevitable.

Other critics, less honest than Mr. Alger, seek to minify the evils now brought to light, or they strive to divert public attention from the real issues by exalting into undue prominence some good done by the workers of iniquity. This is to confuse the issue and de-

feat the ends of moral righteousness. We are told, for example, that while Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company doubtless acquired much of their wealth by indirection and moral criminality, still Mr. Rockefeller is doing much good with his superfluous wealth. This is no new truth. When the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly* were fighting the battle of civic honor and integrity in New York by exposing the robbery of Tweed, the great New York boss gave fifty thousand dollars' worth of coal to the poor of the East Side, and incidentally, a number of respectable citizens of New York began sounding the principles of the boss. His philanthropy was dwelt upon on all sides with the evident purpose of diverting the public mind from the *Times'* exposures and bringing the incorruptible tribune of the people into discredit. In this attempt to bolster up the Tweed Ring till the moral sensibilities of the people should again be lulled to sleep, the *New York World*, *Sun*, *Herald* and *Post* joined with enthusiasm. And on the very eve of the publication in the *New York Times* of the record from the books of the city treasurer that fixed the guilt of the Ring and showed how in the most barefaced possible manner the city had been robbed of millions upon millions of dollars, a committee composed of John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, George K. Sistare, E. D. Brown, and Edward Schell, all of whom were recognized among the wealthiest and most influential citizens of New York, signed a clean bill of health for the Ring in which they stated:

"We have come to the conclusion, and cer-

tify, that the financial affairs of the city, under the charge of the controller, are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

Then came the great *Times'* revelation and the collapse of the Ring, but it was the "literature of exposure" and not the literature of guilty silence or of appreciation that destroyed the Ring and rescued New York.

So every forward step for justice, for social righteousness and civic purity has been rendered possible by those who dared to expose the wrong, the unjust and the corrupt, and who with single-hearted loyalty to high ideals carried forward the crusade until the civic conscience had been so awakened that it compelled the city, state and nation to right the wrongs, and at every step in this age-long conflict the most potent aids to the corruptionists and the assailants of free institutions have been those elements of society, who count themselves among the most respectable, and many of whom have been actuated only by good motives, but who have sought to check the ground-swell of moral indignation before it destroyed the corruption that was undermining public government and civic integrity.

To-day, as at no other period in our history, is it incumbent upon every citizen to engage in the holy crusade against dishonesty in public and private life and against graft and corruption in all their multitudinous forms. It is the battle of light against the darkness. A supreme effort is demanded to exalt the idealism of the people and to clarify the popular vision so that we may once again become the standard-bearer of pure democracy and the greatest moral world-power.

WHY THE PEOPLE AND NOT THE MACHINES MUST CONTROL THE NOMINATIONS.

NOTHING is clearer than that officials will, as a rule, carry out the mandates of those responsible for their positions and to whom they must appeal for future honor or place. When that responsible party is a corrupt boss beholden to public-service corporations, the people will be despoiled and government will more and more pass into the hands of conscienceless grafters and those who are in fact the enemies of good government, law, order and equity. No fact has been more clearly proven during the past fifty

years than that wherever privileged interests have been able to firmly enthrone political machines manipulated by unscrupulous men, the people have been robbed and there has been a carnival of misrule. The swollen fortune of Boss Murphy since he became the real master of the second greatest city of the world, and the brazen attempt to rob the citizens of Philadelphia by the respectable would-be plunderers of the Gas-Ring through the determined efforts of Boss Durham, are but two of the most recent examples of the legitimate

and inevitable result which follows the undemocratic and reactionary political conditions wherever and whenever corrupt political organizers and equally corrupt public-service corporations have been able to so prostitute government, through the manipulation of machines, as to place the enemies of the republic and of the people in control of the machinery of government.

To reinstate true republican government throughout this nation, it is imperatively necessary that a ceaseless war be waged from now on against political bosses and corporation-controlled partisan machines.

To illustrate the point we have in mind, let us suppose that District-Attorney Jerome should be nominated by Tammany Hall. He would then be expected to consult Boss Murphy, as does Mayor McClellan, on all important matters. If, on the other hand, he should be nominated by the Republican machine, he would be expected to consult with the Republican machine-leaders who are likewise beholden to private interests. In either case, the political bosses and the interests of the machine and those of corporate wealth that contribute vast sums for campaign expenses, would hamper at various times the public prosecutor in his attempt to carry forward the demands of justice and to further the real interests of society, because of the conflicting claims and interests represented by the party bosses and their machines and the interests of the various great corporate bodies, which, for special protection and further favors, contribute liberally to the maintenance of partisan machinery and the enrichment of the bosses. If, however, he is nominated by the people and elected by their suffrage, there will be no corrupt boss, no venal party machine, no thieving and avaricious public-service corporations seeking wealth at the expense of the people, coming between the public servant and his true masters.

Our Republican government has become corrupt and has failed in its splendid early promise precisely in proportion to the extent

to which the people have abandoned the vital principle that differentiates a democracy from a class-ruled land. Just to the degree that they have allowed party machines, dominated by masterful bosses and sustained by privileged interests, to select public officers, true democracy has been overthrown and the old reactionary principle of class-rulership has been enthroned, entailing evils which are ever-present in government where privileged classes obtain mastership, chief of which are the steady and increased oppression of the people on the one hand and moral deterioration of the public on the other, with, as a necessary complement, the steady spread of corruption throughout public and business life.

So long as public-service corporations and other privileged interests, working in harmony with shrewd, unscrupulous and corrupt bosses, obtain real mastership in government by reason of popular submission to machine-rule, the nation will be disgraced with venal bosses and tools of private interests enthroned in the high places of government, while incorruptible statesmen and loyal champions of the people and of honesty and justice will be driven into private life. So long as the machine rules the republic, we will find the Platts, the Depews, the Penroses, the Elkinses, the Spooners, the Gormans, the Aldriches, and men of their class occupying seats in the Senate, though under real Republican conditions—under conditions wherein the unfettered choice of the people should obtain—the probability is that scarcely one of these men would be entrusted with the interests of their constituents. All practical political movements looking toward the purification of government and the elevation of the standard of citizenship must make the restoration of the government to the people the cardinal object to be attained. The interests of pure government no less than the life of democracy depend upon the full recognition of the people as the source of government and the real masters and directors of their delegated representative.



HUMANITY IS ONE—THE WHITE PLAGUE AT "BARGAIN"-RATES.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)

HUMANITY IS ONE.

(See Cartoon by Ryan Walker.)

"HUMANITY is one. The Eternal intends to show us that humanity is one. . . . And if we do not accept the revelation lovingly, . . . why then it is flashed upon us terribly by lightning of hell, if we will not have it by the light of heaven—and the poor, neglected scum and *canaille* of the nations rise up mighty in the strength of disease, and prove the oneness of humanity by killing you with the same infection."

So wrote the English poet Gerald Massey some years ago, and we are constantly having the same fact brought into our consciousness when some great plague or epidemic breaks out in the wretched slums of our great cities where the poor are crowded into ill-ventilated buildings innocent of proper sanitary conditions and where insufficient food has prepared the soil for disease germs. The infected region soon becomes a center of death whose deadly miasma permeates the homes of the well-fed, sleek, indifferent, money-worshipping and self-absorbed citizens who have refused to recognize the law of solidarity or to heed the obligations it imposes on every citizen of a free state. Into the homes of the rich and the well-to-do come the invisible but retributive agents of destruction who find easy victims in the tender children hitherto screened and protected from every danger; and thus at a terrible cost the lesson is driven home that no man liveth unto himself.

Some years ago, when engaged in affording temporary relief to some of the unfortunate dwellers in Boston's slums through the dispensing of THE ARENA's fund for the deserving poor, the Rev. Mr. Swaffield, then pastor of the Baptist Bethel Mission of the North End of Boston, pointed out to us a room where a mother was wearily engaged in making pants for a well-known sweater. There were two small children playing on the floor. "A few weeks ago," said Mr. Swaffield, "I was called to this room and found the children both ill

with scarlet fever, and their little heads were pillowed on unfinished pants."

How much those pants had to do with the increase of scarlet fever throughout the city a few weeks later we, of course, cannot estimate; but that they were a fruitful cause of the spread of the contagion cannot be doubted.

Great as is the danger of the ravages of contagious fevers through such channels as the above, thanks to the vigilance of the health boards, this menace is comparatively small compared with the spread of tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs through the products of the sweat-shops of our great cities. To appreciate the force of this peril one has only to visit many of the sweat-shops where there may be seen more than one victim of the white plague toilsomely laboring over the food for the bargain-counter, to note the piles of white wear on every side, in air reeking with the most fatal and insidious disease germs, and then go to the popular department stores on a Monday morning and see the mad struggle of rich and poor alike for bargains rendered possible by starvation wages paid to those who are working under conditions that foster disease and spread the contagion of death.

Mr. Walker has caught the true spirit of the situation in his striking cartoon made for this issue of THE ARENA. Death, though not visible to the physical eye, is lurking in the white, fluffy masses of garments that pile the bargain-counters and that are the fruits of sweat-shops. "Humanity is one." We may wrap the mantle of indifference about us; we may join the army of the apologists for reactionary thought and the sordid materialism of the market-place; but sooner or later, as individuals and as a nation, the price must be paid. For in the spiritual world no less than in the physical universe, every infraction of the law brings the penalty, and there is no more basic or fundamental fact in the spiritual world than the solidarity of life upon which rests the law of mutualism concretely voiced in the Golden Rule.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

SWITZERLAND'S PRIMACY AMONG DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

SWITZERLAND enjoys the proud distinction of having the most truly republican government in the civilized world to-day. Here, the bed-rock principles and theories of free institutions which differentiate real democracy from all forms of government where class-rule obtains—the theories which embrace as a fundamental fact the assumptions that the people are the source of government and the true, rightful and final judges of laws and measures for their own well-being—are so guarded and conserved as to make the Alpine republic the most ideal and perfect practical demonstration of true democracy on earth to-day. For, through the referendum and initiative, the electors have prevented the betrayal of the people by recreant and treasonable misrepresentatives, who through the influence of class-interests or through individual prejudice might seek to thwart the popular will. The Swiss people long since determined that they would not be robbed of the priceless fruits of democracy. They determined that the blessing of free government should not be taken from them through privileged interests or unfaithful stewards, and they, therefore, perfected means by which the democratic government could prevail in purity and practical efficiency under the changed conditions of the present. The initiative and referendum render forever impossible such wholesale robbery of the people by the public-service companies and political rings of grafters as has been the disgrace of St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York and other American cities.

Through proportional representation, the Swiss give the world further evidence of their wisdom in meeting the complex demands of enlightened democracy. By means of its provisions minority parties are able to elect their strongest men to the various representative bodies, and thus all thoughtful groups are able to secure representation in proportion to their numbers. Furthermore, all these measures foster intelligent discussion and

stimulate the interests of the voters in civic matters, both of which are vitally important to a healthy and progressive democracy. Switzerland, therefore, is the primate among democratic governments, because she has led the way in practical methods by which the bed-rock principles of free government have been preserved in their purity and efficiency in the face of the aggressive commercialism that has proved so destructive to the genius of democracy in our republic.

NEW ZEALAND'S GREAT WORK FOR HUMAN PROGRESS IN PLACING MANHOOD ABOVE MONEY.

SWITZERLAND, as we have seen, has taken the lead among progressive nations in the adoption of practical and efficient measures for preserving popular or democratic government in its purity. New Zealand along other lines has also been carrying forward the standard of enlightened government.

While our republic during recent decades has more and more moved away from the noble democratic theory of government, as enunciated by Jefferson, which laid special emphasis on the rights of man, exalting manhood above money and insisting that the rights, the development, the prosperity and the happiness of the units which make up the state were of far greater concern than mere property interests; while we, as a nation, have been steadily exalting the dollar above the man or giving that preëminence to property that Alexander Hamilton stood for when he strove to make the possession of property rather than enlightened manhood the determining qualification in government; while, in a word, special interests have been industriously, insidiously, but effectively gaining a dominant influence in the republic, so that it is now generally recognized as being well-nigh impossible to secure efficient legislation aimed at putting a summary end to political corruption, grafting and the defiance of laws on the part of corporate wealth, New Zealand has been boldly following the line of civic policy cherished by our greatest statesmen of the

elder day. The southern commonwealth has had a clearly-defined policy with certain paramount and definite aims ever in view, among the chief of which may be mentioned the discouragement of any parasite class, the encouragement and aid of honest industry, the securing of the land for the actual use of the people, and the fostering of home-building among all the citizens. While with us the Wall-street gamblers, speculators, corporation magnates and the exploiting class have been rapidly gaining ascendancy in government, New Zealand has wisely frowned upon the gamblers, and so far as possible has discountenanced predatory wealth, while on the other hand she has aided, protected and conserved the interests of the wealth-creators. In the furtherance of this plan, the government has taken over the natural monopolies and has operated them strictly in the interest of all the people. She has aided the settlers in obtaining land and in building homes, even by advancing the necessary money on their homesteads. She has had public servants going throughout the length of the island-realm instructing the people in regard to the most improved methods in agriculture, horticulture, dairying and other productive enterprises, and how to prepare their products for the market, and has further acted as a general forwarding merchant for the wealth-creators, in this manner enabling the small farmer and producer to get the highest market-price for his products, instead of becoming the victim of extortionate public carrying companies and middlemen. Through compulsory arbitration of courts of conciliation, she has rendered impossible the waste, injustice, the oppression and disorder incident to strikes or the attempt to settle disputes between capital and labor by coercion and force. She has evinced wise statesmanship by furnishing the unemployed in periods of commercial depression with productive labor, which has served to develop the wealth and resources of the commonwealth while maintaining self-respecting manhood, and she has striven effectually through her old-age pensions, to lift from the heart of the toiler that great and haunting fear that dogs the footsteps of labor—the fear of starvation and a pauper's grave when age robs the hand of its strength and cunning.

These are but a few of the measures that have marked the consistent policy of New

Zealand and made her liberal government one of the foremost exponents of democratic progress in the world. By thus placing the rights of man above the rights of property, by placing capital emphasis on manhood and good citizenship instead of on money, by putting a premium on industry and refusing aid or comfort to any parasite class or to any of the devious schemes of the representatives of predatory wealth and speculation to amass riches at the expense of industry, this island-commonwealth has given splendid emphasis to the democratic ideal of government. New Zealand more than any other nation of the present time is moving forward under the stimulus of the noble, practical idealism whose cardinal aims are the exaltation of manhood, the encouragement of honest industry, the conservation of justice, the furtherance of popular education and the achievement of the prosperity, happiness and healthy development of all the people.

NEW ZEALAND'S PRESENT PROSPERITY.

THE RECENT fiscal report indicates the continued prosperity of New Zealand. The doleful predictions of the reactionary and exploiting classes who view with alarm the practical demonstration of the blessing of government administered in the interest of the people instead of for the enrichment of the piratical political rings and privileged classes, have all failed of fulfillment. On the other hand, the progressive commonwealth of the southern seas is making that sane and wholesome advance which we would naturally expect to attend a government where the people's interests rather than those of any favored classes receives first consideration. The treasury report of New Zealand for the past year shows something over \$3,800,000 in excess of expenditures or maturing obligations. This surplus from revenue has convinced Prime Minister Seddon that the hour has arrived when it will be safe to take another step in his progressive plan for old-age pensions. Thus, now he proposes to increase these pensions to ten shillings a week. This advance in the amount paid to the aged citizens will require an additional increase of about \$470,000 a year.

In this proposition of the most powerful statesman of New Zealand we have a striking contrast afforded between the methods em-

ployed in the presence of a surplus by a government operated in the best interests of all the people and one which is controlled by privileged interests. Whenever we have a large surplus, ship-subsidies and numerous other grafting special interests gather at Washington as birds of prey around the carcass of a dead lion. Each intercedes with its powerful lobby, and its agents and tools in government strive to put forth measures which will transfer the wealth from the nation's treasury into the pockets of the already over-rich few. Then, also, there are the various contracting interests fostering the insane cry for a larger navy and an enormously increased armament, for in these things lie millions upon millions of profits to the favored contractors, and in such contracts graft usually flourishes with tropical luxuriance, and thus the surplus is attacked by the rich and the powerful greedy for more wealth and power.

In New Zealand, in conformity with the ideal of creating a commonwealth in which there will be no uninvited poverty and where not merely the few but all the people shall have favorable opportunities to develop the best that is within them—to grow in body, brain and soul and enjoy life without an ever-present haunting fear of a foodless and shelterless old age—we see the government ever concerned in seeking to relieve the distress of honest industry and in assisting the citizen to help himself to a position of prosperity and independence and to lend a hand to the unfortunate who need timely succor to brighten their declining days.

THE BATTLE OF THE PEOPLE—AGGRESSIONS OF PRIVILEGED INTERESTS.

DO THE GREAT CORPORATIONS FAVOR GOVERNMENTAL SUPERVISION?

IN THE very able and in many respects masterly paper by Mr. John Moody contributed to this issue of *THE ARENA* the author takes the position that "the great industrial interests lean more and more toward governmental regulation and not away from it." He believes that "the more far-seeing and able monopolists all" "look forward with calmness and confidence to the day when governmental supervision will be an actual reality." We have a very high regard for Mr. Moody's

PRIME MINISTER SEDDON'S PRESENT PROGRAMME.

THERE will shortly be an election in New Zealand, and though all parties are liberal, judged from the standard of other nations, the present opposition to the programme of Mr. Seddon has become very active and aggressive. This, we think, is admirable, as few things are more important in a popular government than political activity and the sturdy struggle of strong, conscientious men holding opposing ideals. They serve to keep the nation interested and informed on live questions, and prevent that political stagnation that is fatal to the health of a republic.

Among the demands announced by Mr. Seddon's government as measures which the dominant party is committed to at the coming election are the following:

Extension of land for settlement.

Purchase of land for workingmen's homes and erection of buildings.

Utilization of natural motive-power.

Increase of teachers' salaries.

Limitation of land-holding to be as follows: Rural holding not to exceed five thousand acres for first-class land; ten thousand acres for land of the second class; and twenty thousand acres for third-class land; urban and suburban holdings by persons or companies not to exceed ten acres in extent or two hundred and fifty dollars in value. With these limitations the state is to have the right to take any land at ten per cent. advanced on the owner's valuation.

opinion, and recognize him as absolutely sincere and also one of our best-equipped thinkers to discuss such questions as he treats in this paper, yet we cannot share his opinion in regard to the attitude of the great public-service companies and other monopolies toward federal supervision or control. To us the actual facts seem to render this position entirely untenable. Take for example, the attitude of the great majority of the railway officials who appeared before the senatorial committee on interstate commerce last spring. Their hostility to increased governmental supervision or any control that would control

the railways was most pronounced and unequivocal. Nor is this all. The railway companies not only sent their ablest and strongest men to protest against control before the senatorial committee, but they have organized and established at an enormous expense bureaux for the purpose of educating the people to see things through the smoked-glass of the selfish railway interest instead of through the clear lens of their own interests as producers and consumers.

The railway and other monopolies are usually supremely indifferent to the desires of the people, because none know so well as do the public-service corporations and other monopolists how completely they own the political machines, or how many of the people's legislators have been long trained as corporation attorneys to see things, not from the vantage-ground of public interest or weal, but from the view-point of the special interests, for their privileged clients. None know better than the trust-magnates and the heads of the great corporations how thoroughly the municipal, state and national governments are honeycombed with their tools and henchmen. So they fear nothing short of the rising tide of public indignation that is now in such evidence from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Ordinarily, they feel safe, but in a time of moral awakening, in a period when the outrages and extortions that have been practiced against the millions have become so well-nigh intolerable that a tremendous revolt is apparent, they fear the legislators may be compelled to enact laws that might afford the people relief from the rapacity of the great corporations under penalty of being driven into private life if they refused reasonable relief. In order that neither of these alternatives may result from the present popular indignation and moral awakening, the railways are now striving to deceive the people by an extensive educational campaign through the press, as quite recently pointed out in this department of *THE ARENA*.*

Indeed, as we write these lines, our attention is called to the following news-note from an exchange:

"A publicity bureau was established, with George V. S. Michaells and James D. Ellsworth, former newspaper men, at the head, and they at once began a systematic campaign

to win over the newspapers of the country, and through them the people, to the idea that there is no real need for legislation. This bureau is still in operation, with offices in New York, Chicago, Boston, Kansas City and Omaha, and it has hundreds of agents who go about 'joying up' the editors. The bureau is supplied with abundant funds. Mr. Michaells, in discussing his plan, said:

"It is my purpose to send out all the material I can get, favorable to our side of the question, to the newspapers. Where I cannot get them to take it as news-matter, or to be used editorially, I shall buy space in the papers, and give our side publicity in that manner."

These facts seem to render it clear that the railways do not lean, as Mr. Moody imagines, toward governmental control, but are so alarmed lest by any possibility the people should assert their undoubted rights, that they are lavishly expending great sums of money to defeat effective legislation that would afford relief from extortion and oppression.

SIGNIFICANT NEWSPAPER UTTERANCES FAVORABLE TO THE RAILWAY INTERESTS.

SINCE the public carriers have evinced a determination to block legislation and have established their bureaux with "abundant funds" for the work of educating the people, through the press, to see that their true interests lie in abandoning the great highways and arteries of commercial life to the commercial bandits who have amassed enormous fortunes by indirection, we have seen numerous evidences of a strong disposition on the part of certain journals to see through the railways' glasses.

Perhaps it may be regarded as unkind to publish Mr. Michaells' brutally frank confession of his design on the press in connection with certain typical editorials that are now cropping forth from all sides and which are in perfect harmony with the interests of Mr. Michaells' masters, but the sudden eruption of pro-railway editorials and articles following on the heels of the confession of the railway bureau's chief is so noticeable that we cannot forbear giving a few typical illustrations. On the first of August the *Boston Herald* published an extended editorial, entitled "Public Opinion and Rate-Fixing," in which the writer noticed with evident sat-

*See September *ARENA*, "The Railroad Corporations' Campaign of Education."

isfaction "a change in sentiment" in the western press on the subject of governmental control of railway rates. The editorial must have been of great satisfaction to Mr. Michaelis, and indeed, we doubt whether it could have been more satisfactory to his chiefs had he or one of his enterprising lieutenants penned it, as the following extract will indicate:

"A good many persons who carelessly mistook the general outcries against the railroads and their practices for the truth find on examination that many of the accusations against the roads are untrue. While there has been a manifestation of greed and of some tendency to disregard the law on the part of the roads, it is becoming clear to the minds who have been set at work seriously on the problem that the relation between the roads and the community, between the agencies of distribution and of production, are mutually dependent. One cannot flourish without the help of the other. Extortion on the part of the roads means injury to those who provide them with products to carry, and, at the same time, undue restraints upon the roads, unwise interference with their business, would cripple the roads and would prevent the extension of our railroad system."

No one understands better than the editors of the *Herald* that there is not a particle of danger of the government seeking to cripple the railroads in any attempt to prevent extortion, favoritism and unjust discrimination.

The *Herald* next quotes several Western editorials with evident satisfaction to show how the sentiment of the West, judging from certain newspaper utterances, seems to be changing. In each utterance the special plea calculated to appeal to the prejudice of the special district in which the paper is published indicates the presence of a shrewd special pleader as the master-spirit in guiding this suddenly developed "change of sentiment," although there is nothing in the quotations to forbid the inference that they might have all been written in the same office.

The Aberdeen, S. D., *News* is one of the journals that voices this "changed sentiment" in the following words:

"It is sufficient argument in the minds of many newspaper advocates of the proposed rate-regulation that the railroads are opposed to the movement. The people of South Dakota are too level-headed to be swayed by

such arguments and will look upon the question from the standpoint of merit alone. Investigation will show that the people of this state have nothing to gain by rate-regulation, and very possibly have much to lose."

The *Argus-Leader*, of Sioux Falls, S. D., says:

"The rate discussion has progressed far enough to prove that the commission which seeks to fix up a rate-schedule which will please everybody is going to have a merry time of it. If the work is undertaken at all, rates will have to be fixed on a mileage basis, and such rates, while technically fair, would mean great disaster to South Dakota shippers. There is nothing that South Dakota wants so little as rates determined on a mileage basis."

The *Kansas City Journal* thus comments on the utterances of Mr. W. P. Trickett, superintendent of the City Transportation Bureau:

"It is a significant fact that, although Mr. Trickett's interests and sympathies are, of course, with his clients, the shippers, his judgment, based upon many years of study and experience, is that the fixing of railway rates should remain the hands of the railway managers, subject to the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission."

Very significant, truly, that Mr. Trickett should wish the producers and consumers left to the mercy of the rapacious railroads without the people having any effective redress from the extortions and discriminations which have filled the nation with the cry of angry discontent. It will be remembered that Kansas City is mentioned as one of the headquarters of the railway bureaux. These examples are sufficient to indicate the "changed sentiment" of which the *Herald* speaks and which has been developed since the railways began their campaign through their bureaux for the education of the people.

Personally, we expect little from any legislation while the senate is dominated so largely by the Aldriches, the Penroses, the Platts, the Spooners, the Elkinses and others of their class. We do not doubt but many far-seeing monopolists of Mr. Moody's acquaintance believe that federal control would quiet the rising storm of genuine republicanism and democracy and prevent the more fundamental and essential remedies being adopted, but

this is certainly not the view entertained by the majority of the monopolists.

SENATOR NEWLANDS ON THE MENACE OF
THE RAILWAY IN POLITICS.

IN THE recently published report of the hearings before the committee on interstate commerce of the United States Senate, Senator Newlands of Nevada stated some impressive truths which should challenge the thoughtful consideration of all patriotic Americans. So long as the public carriers are in the hands of great corporations and operated for the enormous enrichment of the few will the consuming and producing millions suffer from direct extortion of the monopolists and also indirectly through the union of the public carriers with other companies formed for the exploiting of the people and the destruction of competition such as the Standard Oil Company, the Armour Refrigerator-Car Trust, the Elevator Trust and other oppressive organizations that have extorted untold millions from the American people during the past quarter of a century. Nor are these the chief counts in the indictments against the public carriers. The evidence is ample to show that they have been prominent, if not chief, among the influences that have dealt the most deadly blows against free institutions and democratic government through the corrupting influence which they have persistently and effectively exerted in state and national government.

Since the sixties of the last century the public carriers have proved a growing power whose influence for political and civic corruption and degradation has been steadily undermining the foundations of pure government and popular rule. If there were no other reason for public ownership of the railways than this one so impressively stated by Senator Newlands in the following language, it should be sufficient to silence the ingenious sophistry of the special-pleaders for private-ownership and those who thoughtlessly echo the words which the hired tools of corporate interest are placing before the public.

"The railroad," said Senator Newlands, when last May he appeared before the United States Senatorial Committee on Regulations of Railroads, "is in politics to-day because its vast property, amounting to more than ten billions, is between the upper and nether millstones—the upper millstone of the rate-

regulating power, the nether millstone of the taxing power. Between the two, save for the protection of the courts, these properties can be ground to destruction. The uncertainty and insecurity of their situation compels the railroads to go into politics. *Hence they take part in the election of every official whose duty is likely to trench in any degree upon the taxing and rate-regulating power. Doing everything systematically, every participation in politics means the organization of a machine in every State of the Union, and since they pursue the line of least resistance, this often means the alliance with the corrupt element of every community. It is expensive for railroads, and it is a grave menace to the institutions of the republic.*"*

ONE REASON WHY THE FARMERS ARE
POOR; OR, THE ARMOUR CAR COMPANY
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WASTE OF
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF DOL-
LARS' WORTH OF FRUIT.

A CONVINCING illustration of the imperative need of overthrowing the domination of trusts and monopolies in politics, to the end that the producing and consuming public may receive justice and the waste of millions of dollars, no less than the despoiling of the wealth-creators of other millions, through extortionate charges, shall be rendered impossible by stringent and efficient legislation, was offered at the railway-rate hearing given before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce during May of the present year. At that time evidence was brought out showing that hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of strawberries rotted this year in the strawberry belt of North Carolina on account of the failure of the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company to furnish cars that they are under contract to furnish for transportation of fruit to the market.

Our readers are familiar with the amazing record of criminal extortion practiced by this rapacious trust, through Mr. Joerns' exposure in *THE ARENA* for February of this year. Such extortion as the charging of forty-five dollars by the Armours for services such as heretofore had been profitably rendered by the Illinois Central Railway for fifteen dollars, together with a number of similar illustra-

*Remarks by Senator Newlands. Hearing before the Committee of Interstate Commerce in Special Session. Volume II., page 781-82.

tions of extortion were brought out in the hearing in Chicago before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yet this record of infamy, born of conscienceless greed on the part of a few of America's multimillionaires, and due to the criminal indifference of the people's servants to the just rights of the American producers and consumers, is only one phase of the question—one illustration of the wrongs suffered by the most industrious, sober and worthy class of American manual laborers—the farmers. The Armour Company, as was clearly shown in the Chicago investigation, have practically forced a large number of the railway companies to give them a monopoly of the refrigerator business. The railways do not lose a cent in this arrangement, however, but it has proved enormously expensive to the people, transferring millions upon millions of dollars from their pockets to those of the over-rich magnates who compose the Refrigerator-Car Trust, while the service in some instances is notably inferior to that furnished by the railways before the grasping trusts obtained a monopoly. In the Senate Committee, Mr. George F. Meade, of Boston, President of the National League of Commission Merchants of the United States, pointed out the fact that: "The Armour Car Line have a contract with the Atlantic Coast Line to furnish all the equipments necessary. No other car can be put in there but an Armour car, and they agree to furnish all equipments necessary to move this strawberry crop."*

How the Armour Company fulfilled the contracts during the spring of the present year may be seen from the following extract from the published report of the hearing of last May before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce.† It is part of the testimony of Mr. George F. Meade.

"Something was said Monday about no discrimination. We claim that it is the rankiest kind of discrimination between localities, and we also claim that under the exclusive contracts the Armour Car Lines have communities absolutely at their mercy, and within two weeks that statement has been confirmed by shippers in North Carolina, where hundreds and hundreds of carloads of strawberries have been taken out and dumped.

*The report of hearing before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on Regulation of Railway Rates. Vol. III., page 2,621.

† Vol. III., pages 2,596-97.

"Armour & Company have an exclusive contract with the Atlantic Coast Line to carry and furnish all the facilities for taking those strawberries out of North Carolina, and yet on April 29th, and I think four or five days following that, no cars were obtainable. I have telegrams and letters right here from that locality. Here is one:

"Hundred carloads on track. No refrigerators. No shipments to-day.

"J. W. YORK."

"Here is a letter, dated May 3d, from Chadbourn, N. C.:

"CHADBOURN, May 3, 1905.

"Mr. F. M. Leonard, Boston, Mass.:

"Dear Sir—It looks now as if the berry business would be over by the time we get cars. I have 1,200 crates on the platform at Clarendon marked to you, but they will never go out as they have already spoiled.

"There were four cars rolled into Chadbourn about ten o'clock last night. That was all the cars that came here yesterday in this whole section for two days, Monday and Tuesday. There is surely 125 cars left on the ground and platform. This morning they have a lot of box-cars placed in here. I think the railroads are going to load them and take them away. This is the greatest fall down I ever saw or expect to see in the berry business.

"Yours truly,

"C. STURTEVANT."

"Here is another:

"CHADBOURN, May 7, 1905.

"Mr. F. M. Leonard, Boston, Mass.:

"Dear Sir—There were about 65 cars of berries picked in this section yesterday, and at 5 o'clock last night 25 refrigerator cars rolled into Chadbourn. They left 4 cars here at Chadbourn and sent the other 21 all over this section. Clarendon had 2 so I got 1 car there. I tried to get a car from Tabor, but did not get it. They promised to have 15 cars more for Chadbourn before 12 o'clock last night, but they did not come in until this morning and there were only 11 then, and they were not iced. So all the berries picked here yesterday but 25 cars are left on the ground and platform. They will not be loaded only for the dump. Yesterday a solid train of box-cars piled to the roof were taken to the dump. We have not had but 1,600

crates this week, and I would have easily moved 5,000 if a car shortage had not come.

"Monday night I had about 700 crates out and 900 left over. Tuesday I marked 900. I surely had my plans laid to move them this week, but Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday I could not get a car, as there were only 5 or 6 a day came into the whole country. There are 11 cars in sight for to-morrow's business and the company do not know as there will be any more.

"Yours truly,

"C. STURTEVANT."

Mr. Meade further stated that the total loss on the North Carolina berries "would probably be three hundred thousand dollars," which is a very conservative statement judging from the report published in *The Fruit-man's Guide* and which was also put in evidence at the hearing to which we referred. In the report furnished to *The Guide* by its accredited correspondent at Chadbourn, N. C., and dated March 7th, we find the following statement:

"More than \$200,000 worth of strawberries have rotted at the depot here since Monday morning. The railroad company is hauling carload after carload of spoiled berries to the river and dumping them like so much garbage.

"The loss to the truck-growers of this immediate section, according to figures said to be reliable, will be at least \$600,000. . . . More than a hundred representatives of the country's commission houses are here willing to pay from \$2 to \$3 a crate for the berries if they could only ship them. Ten thousand hands are at work picking the berries."

A further report of this criminal waste due to inadequate refrigerator service under the Armour Car monopoly was given by Mr. J. S. Westbrook, of Wallace, N. C., May 5th, and published in the *Carolina Fruit and Truckers' Journal*:

"During my thirty-five years' experience in the strawberry business in this section I have never seen anything to compare with the disastrous results of the present season. In fact, it looks now like this, the most valuable strawberry crop North Carolina has ever produced, will be lost on account of poor transportation facilities. Our association has done all it could to keep the transportation people posted as to existing conditions, and

told them it would take 2,500 refrigerator-cars to move the crop; yet the supply of cars gave out before we had been shipping ten days. Thousands of crates of berries have rotted at the railroad stations for want of cars, and many of our growers are ruined unless the transportation people stand the loss, as they should do.

"The situation is terrible. We have had no refrigerator cars left at this station to be loaded in five days. What we had came by in the 'pick-up' train, and with instructions to load for New York only. They packed them, mostly without slats, seven crates wide and four high, running about 450 crates to the car, and are being delivered one to three days late. The markets are taking good berries at good prices. The 'pick-up' berries are selling for nothing to 8 cents, as to condition.

"The railroad people make a big difference between guano and strawberries when they make up the tariff, but when they make up their trains they all go together. Of course, railroad people claim that freight must be higher on berries, as they are perishable. This is all right if they bear this in mind in their movement. The berries that are being packed in the 'pick-up' cars, 450 crates to the car, had better be dumped into the creek. Three box-cars loaded with berries left here yesterday, which berries had been picked and lying at the station since Monday. Some of the crates were leaking when they were loaded, but they got about 500 in a car, and they will be in bad shape when they are unloaded. It is to be hoped they will not be offered for sale.

"Well, the season will soon be over now and will go down in history as the worst in the management of the transportation of our berry crop.

"Yours, very truly,

"J. S. WESTBROOK."

All those, who know anything of the result of litigation between farmers and fruit-raisers and the great railway corporations or forwarding companies, know how expensive it is made for the farmer and how small are his chances for obtaining anything like an adequate return for his loss. The great public-service companies and other monopolies have in their employ the shrewdest and ablest attorneys of the land. The farmer is unable

to employ men who can cope with them. The railways understand how to delay settlements, to get change of venue, or the putting off of the case from time to time till the farmer is unable to hold his own and is frequently forced to accept any terms the railway chooses to make. Here we find hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of berries raised in one small belt in one of the smaller states of our country, which were allowed to rot and become useless to any one, while hundreds and thousands of Americans were ready to buy and enjoy the fruit in the great cities; and this wanton loss was due solely to the fact that a great monopoly has the refrigerator-car service in its hands so completely that there can be no competition, while its service is so pitifully inadequate that, *though informed as it was in ample season of the demand for cars*, the company was unable or unwilling to give anything like the service demanded for the removal of the fruit.

We hear a great deal about the saving rendered possible by monopoly or the great trusts, and while combinations and coöperations unquestionably render it possible to affect enormous saving, the practical results of monopoly are far from favorable to the producers and consumers so long as monopoly is in the hands of the few instead of the function of the State, or the coöperation is by a band of exploiters for their own enrichment at the expense of the public. The high charge for telephones, due to monopoly rates, is one of many cases in point, as also are the prices charged by the Armour Company. The trusts and the privileged monopolies are content with nothing short of the acquisition of as large an amount of wealth as it is possible to wring from the people—all that the traffic will stand, is the standard rule of the trusts. More than this. The great corporations have become great and powerful enough to pack government and render efficient legislation impossible. The people are suffering from extortion on the one hand and inefficient service on the other.

In contemplating the above story, descriptive of how hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of fruit was wasted in the strawberry belt of North Carolina, we are forcibly reminded of the striking cartoon by Ryan Walker, which we published in the April ARENA, picturing "the farmer and the consumer and they who came between."

It is for the American people to say how

much longer they will submit to be victimized and plundered by the corrupt corporations that, through union with political bosses and machines, have packed the government with their tools, and who, by contributions to campaign funds or the threat of withholding the same, secure practical control of the political machinery to such a degree that they dominate government. Moreover, it should be remembered that the despoiling of industry of its just reward is not the only, or indeed the chief, evil of this "government of the corporation through the machine for the exploiting of the people." The corruption of the people's servants, the driving into private life of incorruptible statesmen, the destroying of the high moral ideals in political and business life, and the virtual defeat of the ends of democracy,—these are the things which are resulting from the present reign of corrupt wealth through machine-rule and which render long silence or indifference on the part of any citizen a moral crime.

HOW PROTECTION ENRICHES THE FEW AND IMPOVERISHES THE MANY.

NOT LONG since, in conversation with a popular educator, now located as principal of a high school in California, but who until recently has resided for several years in Honolulu, we inquired about the condition of the Hawaiian Islands since they came under the flag of the republic. To our surprise our informant declared that the conditions were far less prosperous now than before the annexation. "The chief reason for this unhappy change in affairs," continued our friend, "is found in the enormous increase in the cost of imported articles, and the fact that the small tariff formerly levied went to the treasury of the Islands, and consequently the people received the benefits; while now, tariff receipts go to the national treasury at Washington."

"But is there any great increased cost in the things imported?" we inquired.

Our friend smiled as he replied: "A printing outfit which was bought in the United States under the old régime and delivered in Honolulu for sixty-five dollars, to-day would cost what at the time of its purchase it would have cost the purchaser if he had lived in San Francisco and bought it to be operated in the United States, namely one hundred and five dollars. A sewing-machine now costs more

than one-third more than the identical machine cost before the Stars and Stripes floated over the island."

These he cited as typical examples of the increase in the cost of living without any increase in the benefits commensurate with the loss sustained.

While all nations were on equal footing, the over-rich American trusts and monopolies sold their goods in Honolulu as they do in England and other foreign lands to-day, at a fair profit, but at a far less price than they impose upon the Americans, because the latter are helpless, owing to the tariff wall. So in Hawaii, as soon as the islanders became the victims of our tariff for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, they had to pay the exorbitant prices rendered possible only because of the power of corrupt wealth wielded by privileged interests for the continued oppression of the masses. These facts remind us of the recent panic in the ranks of the tariff-fed trusts and monopolies, when some time ago Secretary Taft merely mentioned his determination to buy such things as might be required for the prosecution of the Panama canal in the cheapest markets until Congress directed him to do otherwise. His simple declaration created consternation in the camp of the protected trusts and other privileged interests that are battling for the lion's share of the hard-earned money of the American people. The hope of these vampire interests, as does the hope of the absolutism of the Czar and of all grossly unjust evils, lies in smothering free discussion. England sought to suppress the agitation of the colonists; the slave oligarchy sought to suppress free discussion of the question of slavery; and the Republican party, since it has become dominated by trusts and the slave of political bosses, has sternly suppressed all honest efforts to have the question of protection brought fully before the bar of human reason. The action of this party in silencing the issue raised by Governor Cummings of Iowa, and the more recent similar action of the Republican machine of Massachusetts, are typical of the attitude of the party in the presence of an issue that will not bear the search-light of investigation. Now Secretary Taft's action has raised the interrogation point. Hence the alarm throughout the priesthood of the trusts and protected interests. One fact brought out by this controversy is sufficient to explain why the multimillionaire trust-

magnates are so fearful of free discussion of the question.

Secretary Taft will have to buy large quantities of steel in order to prosecute his work. He can purchase the steel rails needed in London at twenty dollars per ton. These rails are made by the American Steel-Trust and are sold at a profit in London at twenty dollars; but if Secretary Taft buys the steel rails of the steel-trust in America he will have to pay the same shameful extortion that is exacted by this robber-monopoly from every American user of steel rails,—namely, from twenty-eight to thirty-three dollars a ton, or from eight to thirteen dollars more than the same rails will cost him on the other side of the Atlantic, made by the same company.

Here we have at once a concrete exhibition of the beauties of protection and an illustration of how a few men are amassing untold millions of dollars at the expense of the American people,—millions which enable them, by expending a small fraction of the same, to control political machines, dictate the selection of officials, and in a large way govern the destinies of the nation. Well did the great sugar-trust magnate, Mr. Havemeyer, observe that the tariff was the mother of the trusts. He might have added that it and the public-service corporations are the two chief causes of governmental debauchery, corruption and the betrayal of the interests of the people.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF THE METHODS OF SPECIAL-PLEADERS FOR PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

WE HAVE, heretofore, had occasion to call attention to the palpable example of special-pleading for private-ownership of public-service companies by the staff-correspondent of the *Boston Herald* who is visiting European cities and reporting on the results of municipal-ownership. If this writer held a brief for the gas and street-railway monopoly, it would, we think, be difficult for him to make stronger special pleas or to more effectively forget to mention the points which private corporations desire overlooked.

A striking example of this special-pleading was exhibited in his report on gas in Brussels. Here municipal and private companies exist side by side, and there are certain facts which any report that pretends to be fairly informing must contain, which this writer seems to have wholly overlooked in his anxiety to show that

though the municipal plant furnishes gas cheaper than its great rival, the saving is due to the special advantages it enjoys. One of these things, which should have been stated, was, how much the city treasury realizes from the municipal plant, and how much the city has realized since its establishment. These important facts are entirely omitted. He also fails to show what the people were paying for gas when the city entered the field in competition. A report that pretends to be anything like a full and fair showing of this question, which omits such vital points as these, must necessarily be discredited in the minds of all thoughtful persons, and can only be gratifying to such public-service companies as the street-railways of Boston which realize a net earning of from three to four million dollars every year.

This writer finds that the principal private corporation, the Imperial, makes different prices for gaslight, heating and power. In our currency these correspond to seventy-seven, sixty-six and fifty-five cents per thousand cubic feet. The city charges seventy-three cents instead of seventy-seven for lighting, while its charges for heat and power are the same as that of the Imperial. Three cents on a thousand feet, he holds, means little, but those who know how hard are the lines of the people in the Continental cities of Europe will realize that three cents means much.

Again, the *Herald's* correspondent argues that the reason the city is able to charge less is because it covers the best territory in the city. This may be, and doubtless is, true,

but how can the reader form any idea of the comparative advantage of the two kinds of ownership when he is kept in the dark in regard to vital facts, as for example, the profits which the city realizes from the gas-plant, for profits there are. Again, there is no intimation that the municipal-ownership has had anything to do with the reduction of gas from something over a dollar per thousand feet, when the city entered the field, to seventy-three cents to-day. Yet no fact is better proven than that so long as private corporations enjoy municipal rights undisturbed by the threat of competition and especially of public-ownership, the people are made the victims of shameful extortion.

Still another fact is ignored by this writer and all other special-pleaders for private-ownership, and that is, the removal through municipal-ownership from its influence on municipal government of the most powerful corrupting influence in modern public life. The strength and backbone of the Durham ring of Philadelphia was the gas and street-railway companies. The power which made Boss Butler's corrupt ring in St. Louis well-nigh invincible was the great street-railway corporations, and so in almost every instance where the people have been oppressed and the civic life debauched by corrupt rings of grafters, the chief strength and dependence of the rings in the fight against the champions of clean government and just taxation has been the public-service companies seeking special privileges in the ownership and operation of public utilities.

ONE UNHAPPY RESULT OF IMPERIALISM.

UNCLE SAM IN THE ROLE OF WEYLER.

A STARTLING and melancholy illustration of how rapidly a republic founded on moral ideals may fall into a condition of ethical torpor when either commercialism or imperialism gain ascendancy over the moral idealism that is the oxygen of civilization, has been afforded by the comparative indifference with which the testimony of almost incredible outrages perpetrated by the responsible constabulary in the Philippines has been received by the religious and secular press, by statesmen of both the great parties and leading clergymen and educators.

It was the revelations of the barbarism practiced by Weyler and the misery undergone by the helpless Cubans in the reconcentrado camps, more than anything else, which rendered possible our war against Spain for Cuban liberty. Without the sanction of the moral element, which was stirred so profoundly by the horrors and brutalities described, the strength of public sentiment would have prevented any aggressive action on the part of our government.

Even the most thoughtful of those who believe that war is ever criminal will grant, we believe, that the great mass of Americans favored war against Spain from purely human-

itarian feelings and motives, and because the masses held to the doctrines of the Great Declaration that every people had a right to govern themselves.

War, however, brought to the front the spirit of militarism and imperialism, and also revealed in a startling manner how thoroughly privileged interest and all elements dominated by sordid commercialism have become entrenched in government. Two evils against which democracy must be ceaselessly vigilant are imperialism, or lust for temporal dominion, and sordid commercialism, or lust for wealth. When either or both of these gain a preponderating influence in government, the ethical sensibilities of the people become deadened, and the nation rapidly falls into a moral lethargy absolutely fatal to free institutions.

Of late there have come several reports of inhumanity and criminal brutality being practiced against the Filipinos by the accredited officers of our government. One of the most circumstantial and discreditable of these was found in the testimony brought out under oath in the trial instituted by Colonel Baker for libel against the editor of *El Renacimiento* of Manila. The suit was brought because of the publication of the charges of cruelty to persons suspected of having been guilty of secreting arms or entertaining friendly relations with the revolutionists whom our officials like to characterize as brigands. A brief outline of the case was thus reported in the *Boston Herald* of August 18th:

"The defendants introduced much testimony to show that prisoners had been half-starved and tortured, and very painful stories were told of experiences in the reconcentrado camps, repetitions of what Cubans suffered under Weyler, only that sun exposures in the climate of the Philippine Islands were far worse in every way and aggravated by the pest of flies.

"Very sensational testimony was given by one Francisco Garcia, who was thrown into jail at Bakoor on the 16th of May last and freed on the 22d. He does not know why he was imprisoned. An American by the name of Carpenter jailed him.

"Carpenter took him before another American, who spoke to him, but not so that he could understand.

"After being released, Ramos, an inspector of the constabulary, told Garcia that he must

find Felizardo, a brigand. Garcia was again imprisoned, and carried to the house of Inspector Ramos, and efforts were made to elicit a confession from him. When Ramos saw Garcia he kicked him in the breast. Ramos ordered the prisoner to a room, and with his handcuffs on he was obliged to crouch in such a manner that his knees were even with his chin.

"They then knocked him over on his back, and, taking a large basin of water and a filthy cloth with which they first wiped up the room, forced this into Garcia's mouth, pressing it closely over his face, Arsega forcing his knees against Garcia's breast. Ramos and Gamboa tied the prisoner hand and foot against the wall. Gamboa then crushed Garcia's feet with his own, while Ramos struck him on the breast with the butt of his revolver, and every time the prisoner opened his eyes they poured the drippings from a lighted candle into them.

"As the prisoner confessed nothing, they repeated the tortures at intervals. Twice during their continuance Garcia lost consciousness.

"He suffered great pain during his torture in the left ear, and he is now quite deaf in that organ. The prisoner showed the court his scars and wounds, his left side all black and blue, deep nail and finger-marks on his neck, his breast sore, inflamed and suppurating from the blows of the revolver, and his right side showing two ribs broken as the result of the kicking. After seven days' imprisonment, Garcia was liberated. Directly he sought out Dr. Stuntz, to whom he told his story.

"It might seem that the prosecution may collapse, inasmuch as Colonel Baker, the plaintiff, in his testimony declared that he did not think the original articles in *El Renacimiento* were written with malice intent, and contradicting himself because he had first asserted that *El Renacimiento* was a paper hostile to the government."

It was precisely similar outrages to those described in the sworn testimony brought out in this case that caused the wave of horror and indignation to sweep over our nation when the atrocities were made public that were being perpetrated near our own borders by Weyler in the interests of the despotic Spanish throne. That, however, was while our nation was still under the moral idealism of the Declaration of Independence, and while we held to the doctrine so happily phrased by

President McKinley, when he characterized "forcible annexation" as "criminal aggression." Since the rise of the spirit of militarism and imperialism and the rapid and arrogant advance of corporate wealth, the great public-opinion organs and influences, with comparatively few exceptions, have become significantly silent and the people, failing in aggressive leadership, appear to be rapidly sinking into a condition of moral lethargy which cannot fail, if it continues, to prove fatal to democracy.

Crimes against humanity, such as described above, are revolting and intolerable when

perpetrated by brutal and selfish despotism, but they become a thousand-fold more heinous and demoralizing when committed by a nation pledged to freedom, justice and fraternity, for then they not only outrage the weak and so constitute a crime against humanity, but they also inflict a deadly sword-thrust into the vitals of democracy. Less than ever is the present a time for sleeping. Every man and woman should now become a missionary for freedom and democracy such as were our fathers in an earlier day and such as liberty demands of all her children at the present crisis if they would be quit of guilt.

RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

THE END OF THE WAR AND WHAT JAPAN HAS GAINED BY THE CONFLICT.

IN MAKING the great concessions for the sake of peace and largely in deference to the wishes of enlightened civilization, Japan has proved herself a moral victor as well as a great world military power. Never before, we believe, has a triumphant nation with money in her treasury and ample resources to prosecute a successful war, and with the great prestige that comes with a series of victories, risen to the moral heights evinced by the Mikado's government when, rather than sacrifice more lives and prolong a war which would rob hundreds of thousands of homes of their staffs and supports, she yielded the great point of indemnity—a point which with a money-mad western nation would be counted all-important.

Yet Japan's action in peace has accorded with her conduct from the opening of the war, which has at every point been characterized by a degree of enlightenment, humanity and wisdom rarely if ever before evinced by a great nation engaged in a sanguinary struggle. Japan emerges from the war, we believe, with a cleaner moral record than any Christian nation has ever shown at the end of a bloody conflict, and her achievements since the war opened have given her a prestige and power far greater in value than any monetary indemnity. At the opening of the conflict she was regarded as a weak nation, utterly in-

capable of coping with Russia, while on every hand predictions were freely made that the world would behold frightful exhibitions of savagery on the part of the Japanese when the fury of battle had aroused the sleeping passions of the people.

The results have proved precisely the opposite of the western world's predictions. The government of the Mikado has vindicated her claim to be accounted one of the great military powers of earth, and what is far more important, she has evinced in her treatment of her foe and as a victor a higher degree of civilization than her most loyal friends in the western world dared to hope—a degree incomparably greater than that displayed by so-called Christian Russia.

Furthermore, the material benefits won by the conflict are of inestimable importance. She has driven Russia from Manchuria. She has broken the hitherto all-powerful sway of the Czar in the Far East, which had become a deadly menace to Nippon, and thus has secured all for which she felt compelled to war. She has secured a protectorate over Korea. This opens the hermit empire to Japanese enterprise and will, we believe, prove an inestimable blessing to the Koreans as well as a source of great wealth to Japan. A Japanese company will take over the Russian railways south of Harbin, while Russia cedes to Japan Port Arthur and her Manchurian leases. This gives to the government of the Mikado the extremely important strategic points that Russia so long coveted and

finally obtained by craft, fraud and an enormous monetary expense. The war will open Manchuria to the rapidly expanding commerce of Japan, affording a large and rich market for the Yankees of the Orient. The southern and by far the most important half of Sakhalin Island is retained by Japan, and, finally, Japan is to have equal fishing rights with Russia in Siberian waters. This again means much to Japan, as it will yield an enormous annual revenue to the people. Japan is also to receive remuneration for the care of all Russian prisoners.

It is clear, therefore, that the government of the Mikado emerges from the conflict with a material and moral prestige far greater than her most ardent friends anticipated when the war began, while she has now at her command markets and territory that will afford an outlet for her products and, measurably at least, for her surplus population. Moreover, there can be little doubt but that Japan will largely command the markets of China in a short time, and this war has drawn the two empires closer together than ever before in their history.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S WORK AS A PEACEMAKER.

WE HAVE frequently had occasion to criticize President Roosevelt, owing to his passion for the "big stick" no less than his inconsistent and reactionary acts in regard to internal affairs. It therefore affords us special pleasure to be able to speak in the strongest terms of praise regarding his conduct in promoting the peace between Japan and Russia. But for his brave and unconventional course and his tactful and persistent efforts, Manchuria would to-day be the scene of renewed carnage and we should probably be witnessing a second stage of a war unparalleled in history for the destruction of human life—a stage marked by slow retreat on the part of Russia and a policy of waiting that in the end would have sorely taxed Japan's resources both in men and money. To the President, therefore, honor and gratitude are due for his exhibition of true statesmanship. In this case he has furthered the cause of enlightened civilization, and for it he deserves and will receive great credit.

RUSSIA'S ENFORCED CONCESSION TO THE SPIRIT OF LIBERALISM.

THE NEW CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY.

IT IS difficult to conceive of a more meager concession to a nation's urgent demand for a voice in government than the new so-called national representative assembly of Russia; and yet the departure made in this concession is sufficiently great and pregnant with future possibilities to justify in part at least the claim of those who hold that it is the most significant advance-step made in Russia since Alexander II. emancipated the serfs in 1861. It is true that the new assembly is merely consultative in character, yet it is an elected body, while the four great councils which have hitherto constituted the real government or bureaucracy have been made up of appointees of the Czar and have been responsible only to him. To have a body responsible to the people, consulting and insisting upon certain kinds of legislation, is unquestionably an advance step, and the his-

tories of autocracies and monarchies since the revolutionary era is such as to leave little doubt but that this concession will lead to more democratic reform. Democracies and liberal monarchies have time and again, when the people grew indifferent or subservient to interested or privileged classes, responded to reactionary influences; but in despotic lands the people, when once sufficiently aroused to compel an advance movement, are in little danger of relapsing into indifference until their rights are at least safeguarded to a reasonable degree. So we incline to believe that the new assembly, in spite of the wish and intention of the unwilling Czar and the bureaucratic tyrants, will prove more than an empty mockery or a concession given under pressure of fear only to be withdrawn when the period of peril seems over.

The Russian government for over a century has been administered by four great councils appointed by the Czar. The most impressive

and probably the most important of these is the Council of the Empire, consisting of more than four-score members and four princes of the blood, while the ministers of state are *ex-officio* members of this body. The so-called Senate comes next in its importance. It is divided into six sections, one having charge of the promulgation of executive laws; two divisions act as courts of cassation; another section is concerned with the preservation of order, and others have special spheres of action and clearly-defined labors to perform. The third council is the Holy Synod, which has charge of all religious affairs. The head of this council is one of the most important personages in the realm, owing to the power which the church wields over the imagination of the people, from the most ignorant peasant to the Czar; for the members of the royal family of Russia no less than the most ignorant of the people are victims of gross religious superstition. The present Procurator-General of the Holy Synod, M. Pobiedonostseff, has time and again proved more powerful than the Czar, swaying the weak and vacillating autocrat and exerting a baleful, reactionary and despotic influence as inimical

to the real growth of Russia as it is fatal to human progress, enlightenment and justice. The last of the great councils is known as the Council of Ministers. It is composed of thirteen appointees of the Czar.

The new assembly is expected to consult with these four councils, and when the voice of the two great sections agree there is little doubt but that the Czar will acquiesce; yet when there is a divergence of opinion, as is likely to be the case in most instances, the Czar is, judging from his past conduct, likely to side with the reactionaries if he dares to do so. With a constantly increasing pressure of public sentiment, however, it is probable that the assembly will become increasingly powerful—so powerful, indeed, that in a short time it will be impossible for either the Czar or the bureaucracy to disregard its voice.

The Czar reserves the power to adjourn the assembly at his pleasure, and in the innovation the government has been careful to safeguard the autocratic power of the head of the nation. But how long will the people be satisfied with the shadow and not the substance of a popular governing assembly? That is the vital question.

A HISTORY OF THE MASTER-TRUST.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. VIRILE HISTORY INSTINCT WITH MORAL POTENCY.

THE WRITER who, dealing with contemporaneous history, finds that in order to be a faithful chronicler it is necessary to present certain ugly facts that have been often ignored or glossed over, owing to the wealth, power, prestige or popularity of those who have grievously sinned against the eternal moral verities, must necessarily be far more careful to verify his facts and to present them fairly and accurately than the conventional historian who deals in glittering generalities, glosses over the crimes of the living and elects to play the popular part of prophecying smooth things, glorifying the men and epoch with which he deals. For in the first instance the conscientious historian or reformer knows full well that his every statement will be examined by those eager to discredit his work and that all that wealth and influence can do will be done to destroy the force of his revelations. For this reason the effective writings or utterances of those who lead nations up the spiritual Alps—those who awaken the sleeping conscience of church and state and from time to time make possible those moral revivals that rejuvenate peoples and save nations, have to be rooted and grounded in truth. Happily for the cause of civic and social righteousness, the two distinguished writers who have compiled histories of the Standard Oil Company have been conscientious and careful authors imbued in a large way with the judicial spirit, and who were not content to deal with the subject either superficially or hastily.

Henry D. Lloyd spent ten years in the careful and painstaking labor of preparing that great book, *Wealth versus Commonwealth*, the John the Baptist of the present ethico-economic awakening, and after it had been prepared he submitted it to eminent lawyers conversant with the facts, in Pennsylvania, Ohio and elsewhere, as he was unwilling to go before the world stating as true anything that the facts did not amply warrant. It was our good fortune to know Mr. Lloyd, and for a period of twelve or fifteen years we carefully followed

his splendid and loftily unselfish labor for the republic and her people, and we know of no nobler, more eminently just, selfless or truth-loving thinker in the ranks of the people's loyal champions than was this high-minded, conscience-guided patriot, who, though possessing wealth, elected to dedicate his life to the furtherance of the cause of justice and social righteousness.

Valuable and essentially standard as was Mr. Lloyd's *Wealth versus Commonwealth*, its worth is not comparable to that of Miss Tarbell's history, for several reasons, chief among which may be mentioned the depressing effect it produces on the mind of the reader. Then again, Mr. Lloyd's writings do not possess the elements of popularity—the fascination and, if not brilliancy, at least the strong, picturesque quality that invests the work of Miss Tarbell with a charm that lures the reader from page to page, making history a living tale throbbing with human interest and pregnant with those indefinable suggestions that call forth vivid mental pictures at every turn. *The History of the Standard Oil Company* is one of the most important contributions that has been made to the vital historical and conscience literature of our opening century. The absorbing interest of the work, the masterly marshaling of facts and the careful handling of details are only surpassed by the judicial spirit that is preëminent throughout the work. The author has succeeded to a remarkable degree in rising above all personal feelings and in presenting the facts as the evidence revealed them. This and the painstaking care in examining and sifting her data, which required six years of continuous labor, renders the work invaluable; and the fact that though no work of the past few years has been submitted to more searching examination than this history and that none of the essential facts have been successfully controverted, further establishes the authoritative character of the work. But valuable as is the history as a record of facts, its greatest worth at the present time of ethical awakening lies in its fearless unmasking of moral criminality masquerading under the robes of respectability and Christianity. It more than any other work of recent years has served to draw a

* *The History of The Standard Oil Company*. By Ida M. Tarbell. In two volumes. Cloth. Price, per set, \$5.00 net. New York: McClure, Phillips & Company.

sharp line of demarcation between the friends of sound morality, Christian ethics and justice, and the posers, the pharisees and the materialistic opportunists who subordinate the ethics of the Nazarene to greed for gain. In the author's admirable preface she thus states the reasons for selecting the Standard Oil Company as an illustration of the curse of monopoly:

"It was," she observes, "the first in the field, and it has furnished the methods, the charter, and the traditions for its followers. It is the most perfectly developed trust in existence; that is, it satisfies most nearly the trust ideal of entire control of the commodity in which it deals. Its vast profits have led its officers into various allied interests, such as railroads, shipping, gas, copper, iron, steel, as well as into banks and trust companies, and to the acquiring and solidifying of these interests it has applied the methods used in building up the Oil-Trust. It has led in the struggle against legislation directed against combinations. Its power in state and federal government, in the press, in the college, in the pulpit, is generally recognized."

II. THE WONDER-TALE OF FAIRY-LIKE TRANSFORMATION WROUGHT BY A GREAT DISCOVERY.

The opening chapter, dealing with "The Birth of an Industry," reads almost like a romance born in the daring brain of a genius. In 1858 that part of Pennsylvania afterwards known as the Oil Region was a forest-clad wilderness sparsely settled, because its rugged and rocky expanse offered small inducement to settlers and home-builders. True, here were found a number of lumbermen who "every season cut great swaths of primeval pine and hemlock from its hills, and in the spring floated them down the Allegheny river to Pittsburgh." And yet fourteen years later this region that had been shunned by "the great tides of western emigration" had been transformed into one of the busiest sections of the nation. "It was the discovery and development of a new raw product, petroleum, which had made this change from wilderness to market-place." This discovery "had not only peopled a waste place of the earth," but it had "revolutionized the world's methods of illumination and added millions upon millions of dollars to the wealth of the United States."

Petroleum, it is true, had been long known to travelers and settlers. The various tributaries of the Allegheny and the springs throughout northwestern Pennsylvania and elsewhere had been covered with a dark-green, evil-smelling oil which the Indians held to be possessed of marvelous healing properties; and acting on this hint, it was utilized by enterprising men and exploited as a sovereign remedy for the ills of human flesh, long before its value as a luminant or lubricant was suspected, or before man dreamed that nature held vast stores of oil in her treasure-vaults to be yielded on demand for lighting and heating the favored republic. Under the name of "Seneca Oil," "American Medicinal Oil," and "Kier's Petroleum, or Rock-Oil," hundreds of thousands of bottles were sold throughout America and Europe. At length, however, men who were engaged in the manufacture of salt and were compelled to drill artesian wells, encountered such great quantities of this oil that frequently it rendered the wells useless. Time and again it had been noted that the oil was inflammable, and as the century approached its meridian the more enterprising of those encountering the oil began to experiment with the product for lighting purposes and also as a lubricant.

In 1854 George H. Bissell, a graduate of Dartmouth College, became impressed with the commercial possibilities of petroleum. He organized a company and leased land on which several oil-springs were located. "He then sent a quantity of the oil to Professor Silliman of Yale College, and paid him for analyzing it." The report confirmed Mr. Bissell's anticipations. It declared that "from the rock-oil might be made as good an illuminant as any the world knew. It also yielded gas, paraffine, lubricating oil." "In short," declared Professor Silliman, "your company have in their possession a raw material from which, by simple and not expensive process, they may manufacture very valuable products. It is worthy of note that my experiments prove that nearly the whole of the raw product may be manufactured without waste, and this solely by a well-directed process which is in practice in one of the most simple of all chemical processes."

Ultimately the company formed by Mr. Bissell, after a reorganization and change of name, began active and practical operations under the management of E. L. Drake. Wells were sunk, oil in quantities found, and the first

steps taken in the realization of one of those great world-influencing discoveries that made the nineteenth century the golden age of discovery and inventive progress. Moreover, the finding and utilization of oil was most opportune. For years the whaling industry had been on the wane. Ships, it is true, scoured the northern and southern seas in search of sperm oil for illuminating purposes, but the whales were becoming more and more scarce, and the gravest apprehensions were being felt lest no means should be found for supplying the people with a luminant when the whales should be extinct. The discovery and refining of petroleum therefore was rightly hailed as something of inestimable importance.

Its potential value to those who received a title to the land was early appreciated, and as by magic the wilderness blossomed with life. Fortunes were acquired in a day, owing to civilization's short-sighted and unjust policy of permitting private ownership in land. "A young doctor who had buried himself in the wilderness saw his chance. For a song he bought thirty-eight acres on the creek, six miles below the Drake well, and sold half of it for the price he paid to a country storekeeper and lumberman of the vicinity, one Charles Hyde. Out of this thirty-eight acres millions of dollars came; one well alone—the Maple-shade—cleared one and one-half millions. On every rocky farm, in every poor settlement of the region, was some man whose ear was attuned to Fortune's call, and who had the daring and energy to risk everything he possessed in an oil lease."

With the discovery of oil on a large scale arose a number of serious problems that had to be met. Storage and transportation, refining and manufacture—these and other questions demanded instant solution; but the keen and daring intellects that had been drawn as iron is drawn by the magnet to the new El Dorado were equal to every problem that arose. In 1864 Samuel Van Syckel opened the first pipe-line with relay pumping-stations, and thus presented the solution to one of the gravest difficulties that faced the oil-producers. As early as 1865 oil refining and the utilization of the by-products of petroleum was well under way, as at this time William Wright, who prepared a study of "Petrolia" published by Harper Brothers, visited and commented on the petroleum industry as he found it in the oil region.

"Mr. Wright found some twenty refineries between Titusville and Oil City the year of his visit, 1865. In several factories that he visited they were making naphtha, gasoline, and benzine for export. Three grades of illuminating oil—'prime white,' 'standard white,' and 'straw color'—were made everywhere; paraffine, refined to a pure white article like that of to-day, was manufactured in quantities by the Downer works; and lubricating oils were beginning to be made."

Thus we see "men were found from the beginning of the oil business to wrestle with every problem raised. They came in shoals, young, vigorous, resourceful, indifferent to difficulties, greedy for a chance, and with each year they forced more light and wealth from the new product. By the opening of 1872 they had produced nearly 40,000,000 barrels of oil, and had raised their product to the fourth place among the exports of the United States, over 152,000,000 gallons going abroad in 1871, a percentage of the production which compares well with what goes to-day. As for the market, they had developed it until it included almost every country of the earth—China, and the East and West Indies, South America and Africa. Over forty different European ports received refined oil from the United States in 1871."

These interesting facts in relation to the oil industry in its infancy and before any sinister and powerful monopoly organization had loomed large above the horizon, are important to be remembered in view of the attempt of the apologists for the Standard Oil Company to credit the triumph and utilization of the oil industry to the genius and skill of the master-brain of the conspiracy for the destruction of all oil competition.

Nor were the marvelous victories of the pioneers in the oil fields confined to mastering the great problems upon which the success of the oil industry depended. Here, as is always the case where the strong-box of nature is opened by man and great wealth is offered for the taking, came hordes of gamblers, whiskey-sellers and women of loose morals. Whole streets in the towns were given over to dance-halls, gambling-dens and saloons in the early days. But when the work was well under way the sturdy spirit of Anglo-Saxon morality asserted itself. "Decency and schools!" was the cry that sounded through-

out the oil region. Soon "a shanty with a school-teacher in it was in every settlement. It was not long, too, before there was a church, a union church. To worship God was their primal instinct; to defend a creed a later development.

"Out of this poverty and disorder they had developed in ten years a social organization as good as their commercial. Titusville, the hamlet on whose outskirts Drake had drilled his well, was now a city of ten thousand inhabitants. It had an opera house, where in 1871 Clara Louise Kellogg and Christine Nilsson sang, Joe Jefferson and Janauschek played, and Wendell Phillips and Bishop Simpson spoke. It had two prosperous and fearless newspapers. Its schools prepared for college. Oil City was not behind, and between them was a string of lively towns. Many of the oil farms had a decent community life. The Columbia farm kept up a library and reading-room for its employes; there was a good schoolhouse used on Sunday for services, and there was a Columbia farm band of no mean reputation in the Oil Regions.

"Indeed, by the opening of 1872 life in the Oil Regions had ceased to be a mere makeshift. Comfort and orderliness and decency, even opportunities for education and for social life, were within reach. It was a conquest to be proud of, quite as proud of as they were of the fact that their business had been developed until it had never before, on the whole, been in so satisfactory a condition."

Such, in the briefest outline, was the marvelous transformation of the wilderness and the triumph of man over the gravest obstacles. Victory had crowned the labors of the oil pioneers. The rude camps had changed into thriving, prosperous and joyous towns and cities. Men were happy in the consciousness of victory and the fruits of success; they were buoyant with the promise of greater things to come.

"But suddenly, at the very heyday of this confidence, a big hand reached out from nobody knew where, to steal their conquest and throttle their future. The suddenness and the blackness of the assault on their business stirred to the bottom their manhood and their sense of fair play, and the whole region arose in a revolt which is scarcely paralleled in the commercial history of the United States."

III. THE OIL VAMPIRE AND ITS MASTER-SPIRIT.

"An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man."

"The American Beauty rose can be produced in its splendor and fragrance only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it."

On the very threshold of this work the reader is confronted by these two striking quotations, one from Emerson's *Essay on Self-Reliance*, the other an extract from an address delivered by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in defence of the heartless "system" that had so mercilessly crushed, blasted and blighted the hopes and ruined the fortunes of other men in order that a few intellectually acute and morally obtuse personages might become multimillionaires.

Shortly after the oil region became aflame with excitement and enthusiasm, and while the problems of transportation and refining were being so rapidly and successfully solved, as we have seen, the cities of Cleveland and Pittsburgh came under the contagion. Refineries were built and the oil traffic soon promised to become a commanding industry in each municipality. Among those in Cleveland who early realized the potential wealth in the oil business was a shrewd and taciturn young man whose acuteness of intellect was as pronounced as was his lack of any realizing sense of the binding force of the Golden Rule and the ethics of the great Founder of Christianity upon her professed followers. This young man was marvelously gifted by nature with the capacity for planning campaigns, for organizing close corporations, and for persistently, relentlessly and mercilessly pushing forward the fully matured plans so long as success promised to crown the endeavors, while being equally gifted in the power to patiently wait or bide his time when circumstances arose which thwarted for the moment the work upon which he had set his heart. No man in the annals of the nineteenth century possessed these elements in greater degree than did John D. Rockefeller, and he knew how to keep a secret. The dark plots and sinister plans that were weaving themselves into settled policies in the silent chambers of his brain were never betrayed in unguarded moments. The laboratory of his mind was a hidden world to all, save as he chose to give those close to him necessary in-

sights from time to time of the colossal plans that had taken possession of his thought-world. Had he been a Christian in the true meaning of that term, had he been ethically great as he was intellectually strong and shrewd, John D. Rockefeller might have become one of the greatest and noblest men of the ages; and although the distinction of being the richest man in the world would not have been his, he would have won the love of his age and people,—aye, and have lived in the love of all oncoming ages. More than this, he would have known the joy, peace and measureless satisfaction that can only be realized by those who make the Golden Rule the supreme guide of life—those who make the moral verities take precedence over material gain or ends. The hush-money given so shrewdly and successfully to educational and religious institutions, which represents but a fraction of the acquired wealth, cannot in the nature of the case yield deep or abiding satisfaction to the soul of the giver, for the reason so impressively stated by Lowell in *The Vision of Sir Launfal*:

"Not what we give, but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare."

Unhappily for America and for Mr. Rockefeller, intellectual acuteness was not balanced by moral development, and therefore he was potentially a dangerous man long before the shadows of the South Improvement Company and the Standard Oil Company began to darken the prospects and bode ruin to the hard-earned fortunes of scores of men who through industry, perseverance and business sagacity had gained a competence, but who were not on their guard for enemies who fought in the dark and who depended on stealth and unfair advantage for the ruin of their competitors. A leading political manager, in referring to Mr. Rockefeller, characterized him as money-mad; and indeed, there is a well-known form of mania wherein an idea gains such possession of the brain that it subordinates all other things and obscures all sense of moral proportion, and we think that no thought-mastery is so baleful in this respect as the desire for gold or the lust for power. Greed for gain and thirst for dominion will destroy all realizing appreciation of moral values, deaden the voice of conscience, blunt the spiritual susceptibilities and dry up the well-springs of divine love, of compassion, nobility and moral rectitude as does no other master-idea, unless it be that

of gross sensualism. The man who is money-mad is lost to the higher things of life.

Now young Mr. Rockefeller was possessed of many most admirable traits. He was thrifty, frugal, temperate. He was industrious and unafraid of honest toil. But in the formative hours of life no noble mind had brought him under the compelling influence of that life of love and service that made the penniless Galilean the most powerful influence in the current of human history. No Wesley or Whitefield had unmasked his thought-world and revealed to the lad his moral pauperism in so far as it related to a vital recognition of ethical verities. No one during the all-important formative period had taught him that Jesus made the Golden Rule the supreme test of life and aspiration, and that this fact could not be ignored by those who believed that He spoke a divine truth when He said: "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" And in the absence of this spiritual instruction and inspiration the youth had grown to think more and more of the acquisition of gold.

Seeing the possibilities of the oil business, he early engaged in it and his legitimate labors were richly rewarded. From the profits which he in common with other pioneer refiners were making, it is easy to predict a handsome fortune that would have made the enterprising and industrious young man independent and a master-spirit among the high-minded men of affairs who scorned to take unfair advantage of competitors or acquire money not earned justly and above-board. But already the glitter of gold had thrown its powerful fascination over his mind, that in effect was not unlike the influence of the Rheingold in the famous legend, when once it was wrongfully taken from its rightful place—a fascination that became as irresistible as was its power to curse and blast all who succeeded in acquiring it. Wanting the steadying power of a high and noble idealism and yielding to the materialistic theory that already began to obtain in the business world, young Mr. Rockefeller set out to become the master of millions, regardless of the ethical rights of others. His penetrating vision enabled him to realize the enormous revenue that would accrue to the master-spirit who should establish a monopoly in this world-necessity. Great savings could be realized at every turn, while the consuming millions would be placed at the complete mercy of the monopolists. And so we find the young com-

mercial Titan early setting out to form a corporation that should in time become all-powerful, with himself as the absolute master-spirit.

In the early stages of the work Mr. Rockefeller was necessarily very much in evidence. Later he is more in the background, except in crucial moments or when it was necessary to consummate some great object for the furtherance of his ambitious dream for world-dominion in the oil industry. But at all times, from the beginning, we see the presence of one master-brain and the ceaseless operation in devious ways of one strong and tireless mentality working out with the precision that comes only through the building of that which has been previously thoroughly and perfectly planned in every detail.

It is not strange, therefore, that men everywhere identified John D. Rockefeller with each bold, daring or masterful stroke in the war for the destruction of all competitors, even when he remained in the background. Moreover, from the inception of the ambitious scheme, Mr. Rockefeller was the controlling influence who at any moment could have prevented any act that might have been proposed but which was contrary to his desire. In the light of these facts and the history of the development of the Standard Oil Company it is more than probable that most of the aggressive movements which marked the gigantic scheme early took shape in his brain and were gradually wrought out on the loom of his imagination while the corporation was still in its infancy; and we can easily imagine the mental processes of such a brain in the presence of such possibilities.

Here was a new field for the acquisition of fabulous wealth. The fortunes that were being realized legitimately and upon the old-fashioned principle of "Live and let live" suggested the almost limitless wealth to be acquired if competition could be destroyed and the many who were rapidly growing rich should be ruined for the further enrichment of the favored few.

To obtain a monopoly of the industry in Cleveland was the first step, and if all those engaged in the business should have united, putting their wealth into the one organization on the basis of their present earnings, or by any other equitable arrangement through which all were to be served alike, the profits of all could have been greatly augmented by the large savings that would have resulted. But here, judging from what soon transpired

avarice doubtless whispered in the ear of her willing slave: "Make a combination on the most favorable terms possible with a few firms, and then compel, under penalty of the destruction of their business, the others to come into the company on *your* terms, irrespective of the demands of equity; while if any refuse, their commercial destruction can be easily compassed in short order."

Such a scheme, though it did violence to every principle of Christian ethics, though it was directly opposed to all principles of justice and fairness and would mean the wronging of many men out of their honestly-earned wealth, would add enormously to the unearned and unholy acquired wealth of the master-spirit and of the few persons whom he had deemed it necessary to take into the enterprise at its inception.

It is an oft-noted fact that when once a man has elected to disregard the demands of those eternal fundamental ethics upon which the moral order rests and which are essential to a permanent civilization, one evil step quickly leads to another; and this dream of wealth to be gained by indirection had soon acquired such complete control over the mind of the young man that he was ready to eagerly take advantage of another dishonorable method for commercial aggrandizement. To obtain a monopoly it was all-important to gain special privileges through secret rebates from the railways, by which all competitors would be placed at a serious disadvantage; and if in addition to this well-nigh invincible weapon, such pressure or inducements could be brought to bear upon the railway interests as to lead them to consent to the morally infamous plan of turning over to an interested few a large proportion of the rate charged the competing oil men, the destruction of competition would not only be assured, but a continual flow of the wealth earned by others would be poured into the pockets of the favored ones without their being at a dollar's expense. This dream, which was early discussed by the interested few in connection with the organization of the South Improvement Company, must have opened before the imagination of Mr. Rockefeller visions of wealth and power that would prove well-nigh illimitable.

Bad and unfair as was the scheme for secret rebates and enormous as was the advantage which would accrue from such an arrangement, far darker, more cruelly unjust and essentially diabolical was the plan for drawbacks from the innocent and ignorant com-

petitors. Its successful operation would necessarily prove a knife-thrust into the vitals of all competitors, which in a short time could not prove other than fatal to their commercial life; while all the time during the death-grapple, when the victims, innocent of the character of the wound, would be heroically struggling for life, the treasury of the foe would be daily fattened from the hard earnings of the victims against whom the black-handed conspirators had passed secret sentence of death.

Such in brief was indeed the scheme of the men who made the Standard Oil Company the greatest and richest monopoly in the land, and though it is probable that many of the details were suggested by kindred spirits, the master-mind that coördinated all plans and perfected the cruel "system" for the destruction of the competitors was John D. Rockefeller—the originator of the enterprise and ever its controlling spirit.

IV. THE FULFILMENT OF THE DREAM.

The dream of world-dominion was successfully realized along the lines indicated above. The independent refiners were given the opportunity to stand and deliver their goods, if they were content to take a fraction of what their business would have been worth under fair competition. If they refused, they were crushed. A typical example of this character was seen in the experience of Robert Hanna, one of the Cleveland refiners. When Mr. Rockefeller's plan had progressed far enough for him to feel that he was in a position to ruin the oil refiners or compel them to sell at fifty cents on the dollar of actual valuation, based on the earnings of their plants, he approached them one by one. Mr. Hanna at first refused to part with his refineries. "I do not want to sell," he said.

"You can never make any more money, in my judgment," said Mr. Rockefeller. And he added this sinister remark: "If you refuse to sell it will end in your being crushed."

An investigation convinced Mr. Hanna that he was powerless, so he followed the example of most of the victims. The works of his firm had cost \$75,000 and they had earned thirty per cent. a year on the investment. The Standard Oil Company would only allow \$45,000 for the plant, its good-will and business. "This was," said Mr. Hanna in a sworn affidavit, "truly and really less than one-half what they were absolutely worth with fair and honest competition in the lines of transportation."

The methods by which Mr. Rockefeller and the few confederates who organized the South Improvement Company planned the absolute destruction of all competitors, and their own enrichment through the death-struggle of the other oil men, can be easily understood from the following brief statement by our historian, based on the indisputable evidence brought out under oath at the various public investigations:

"The open rate from Cleveland to New York was two dollars, and fifty cents of this was turned over to the South Improvement Company, which at the same time received a rebate enabling it to ship for \$1.50. Again, an independent refiner in Cleveland paid eighty cents a barrel to get his crude oil from the oil regions to his works, and the railroad sent forty cents of this money to the South Improvement Company. At the same time it cost the Cleveland refiner in the combination but forty cents to get his crude oil. Like drawbacks and rebates were given for all points."

Another provision in the contract with the railways was that the full way-bills of all petroleum shipped should be sent each day to the South Improvement Company. "This, of course, gave them knowledge of just who was doing business outside of their company—of how much business he was doing, and with whom he was doing it. Not only were they to have full knowledge of the business of all shippers—they were to have access to all books of the railroads."

Well might Mr. Rockefeller remark, as according to Mr. Hewitt's testimony he did remark: "I have ways of making money that you know nothing of." In view of these facts it is not strange that the Standard Oil Company soon became paramount in the oil business. On this point Miss Tarbell observes:

"The Standard had a greater capacity than the entire Oil Creek Regions, greater than the combined New York refiners. The transaction by which it acquired this power was so stealthy that not even the best informed newspaper men of Cleveland knew what went on. It had all been accomplished in accordance with one of Mr. Rockefeller's chief business principles—"Silence is golden."

These instances of the methods of Mr. Rockefeller and his confederates are strictly typical. A large portion of the more than eight hundred pages that make up this work

are given to the sworn statements of witnesses, to the citing of instance after instance, case after case—all giving additional emphasis to the unparalleled record of moral infamy of the master-spirits who, dominated by money-madness, ruthlessly destroyed the fruition of the long and hard labor of competitors, and at last placed the nation at the mercy of a soulless monopoly.

V. THE FALLACIOUS PLEA ADVANCED BY THE MONEY-CONTROLLED APOLOGISTS.

Unfortunately for Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company, the various national and state investigating committees have given the American people in the most authentic form the history of the infamy of this great monopoly and its master-spirits. Therefore the hireling ministers and educators who care more for gold than for Christian ethics or the moral integrity of the individual and nation, are inventing all kinds of apologies and excuses for the moral outrages committed, while the most ingenious but false and fallacious statements are advanced as justification for the Standard Oil Company and its methods. Miss Tarbell in a recent article on Mr. Rockefeller notices these various attempted defences of the master-spirit in the Oil-Trust in the following admirable manner:

"Perfected methods of oil transportation, refining and marketing—yes, but these methods were not his invention. They were the invention of those who sought to live free of his domination, and which he seized by force and strategy when they had been proved to be valuable. Is it for the good of the commerce of the community that the men who possess the blood and courage of the pioneer or the brains of the inventor should be discouraged and suppressed by being deprived of a fair share of the profits of their labors?

"Cheap oil? Mr. Rockefeller's fundamental reason for forming his first combination was to keep up the price of oil. It has been forced down by the inventions and discoveries of his competitors. He has never lowered it a point if it could be avoided, and in times of public stress he has taken advantage of the very misery of the poor to demand higher prices. Nobody has yet forgotten the raising of the price of oil in the coal famine of 1902. Even the coal barons themselves in that winter combined to see that the poor of the great cities received their little bags of coal promptly and at reasonable prices and

in preference to rich patrons. But the price of oil and the price of oil-stoves went up. Does it pay the public to trust the control of a great necessity of life to such a man?"

VI. THE DEMORALIZING EFFECT OF CONDONING IMMORAL ACTIONS.

Evil and essentially unjust and immoral as was the action of the Standard Oil Company in its rebates, drawbacks and other reprehensible acts; cruelly unjust and destructive as were these things to the independent oil interests; and unfortunate for the people at large as has been the possession of monopoly power which has enabled a few men to acquire almost incredible fortunes at the expense of the people, the crowning injury has been wrought in the lowering of the commercial and political ideals of the nation and the paralyzing of the moral susceptibilities of church and school. If a nation is to enjoy a glorious destiny and perennial youth, its people must be dominated by high moral convictions. A civilization that surrenders such noble ethical ideals as dominated the fathers for the savage, brutal and unethical theory that might or cunning make right, sells its birthright for a mess of pottage or, Faust-like, barter its soul for a fleeting phantom and virtually commits spiritual suicide.

We to-day are at the parting of the ways. Upon the acceptance or rejection of the immoral theory of the business and political ideals, or the "system," of which the Standard Oil Company is the father and master-spirit, will depend the victory or defeat of the last and greatest experiment in government based on moral ideals, justice, freedom and the theory of brotherhood—an experiment which for many years made this nation the greatest moral world-power on earth.

For this reason no true man can remain indifferent in the presence of the battle between the ethics of the great Nazarene and the moral ideals of enlightened civilization on the one hand, and the money of Mr. Rockefeller and others of his class on the other. The hush-money of the acquirers of wealth, bestowed on churches and schools, is exercising so demoralizing an influence on preachers and professors that unless the moral susceptibilities of the people are speedily awakened the church and the school will become infected with the materialism of the market, and sordid greed will more and more hold sway over the imagination of the young, to the rapid deterioration of the individual and the nation.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Clue to the Economic Labyrinth. By Michael Flürscheim. Cloth. Pp. 548. London, England: Swan Sonnenschein & Company, Ltd.

THIS work will prove of real value to thoughtful economic students who dare and who care to study all sides of social, political and economic philosophy. The author is a broad-minded and careful student—a man who has made the new political economy a subject of exhaustive investigation and who has come to accept the philosophy of democratic socialism as the most just, equitable and practical theory for a civilization which is to endure and which has reached the present stage of development. His work differs markedly from most volumes of similar character. It is one of the most lucid and reasonable works that has been written. Subjects that in the hands of most able writers, and especially German thinkers, are abstract and dry, here are presented in so clear and interesting a manner that the reader finds no difficulty in following the writer, and is entertained and informed at every step. This element of lucidity is only surpassed by the broad and tolerant spirit of the author. He may not agree with other reformers, but he is not blind to the value of their work, and he treats them and their views in that fine and liberal spirit which should ever be present, but which is rarely in evidence in writings on social and political economy. Thus, for example, though believing that the single-tax would prove inadequate to meet the exigencies of present economic and political demands, he is heartily in accord with many of Mr. George's chief contentions and is not slow to render a glowing tribute to that great and single-hearted social philosopher. This fine spirit pervades the whole volume. Moreover, the author is a true democrat, and though the reader may not, and doubtless will not, agree with all his views, his work as a whole is instinct with the spirit of true democracy and is dominated by the ideal of the Golden Rule. He is a strong advocate of the referendum,—“an urgently demanded reform which no real democratic country

ought to be without.” Moreover, he is essentially practical. He believes in doing rather than talking, and in adopting the step-by-step plan for reaching the goal as the method by which the most rapid progress can be made without the danger of forcible revolution. In his advice to Socialists, he says:

“Their ideals will be far better served by a little less talk and more work. Less talk of the final aim and more work for immediate steps towards that aim. Millions who fight shy of them when they preach their socialist or communist state will cheerfully help when they go to work to lay the foundations of a thorough social reform. Nobody will hinder them from keeping before their eyes their great goal: the brotherhood of men, but if they want to do some real good, they will speak less of this brotherhood and do more practical work towards establishing it. . . . There are no through tickets obtainable to the socialist State; we have to book from station to station.

“The first two stations are *land nationalization* and *currency reform*.

“But the admission to the booking-office must be fought for before any ticket is obtainable; the people must obtain the power to mould their own destinies, independent of despots, whatever their name; and it is not always the traditional despot who proves the most dangerous. In the Anglo-Saxon world it is not the king but the party-boss who is most to be feared. The practical democrat in our country will not fight for a republic, but for the *proportional vote*, the *referendum* and *initiative*, the *elective executive*, never mind whether there is a figure-head above this executive or not.”

Land reform, money reform and practical voluntary coöperation, our author holds, are objects which, next to direct-legislation, should receive the hearty support of the friends of human progress.

The volume contains eleven long chapters devoted to the following subjects: “Wanted, A New Gospel,” “The Land,” “Money,” “The Effect of a Scientific Paper Currency,” “Free Trade or Protection,” “Banking,”

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

"Interest," "Capital and Capitalism," "Democracy," and "Socialism." It is a book that all earnest-minded students of political economy and economic advance should carefully peruse.

World Organization. By Raymond L. Bridgman. Cloth. Pp. 172. Price, 50 cents, net. Boston: Ginn & Company.

TWO MIGHTY world ideals are in active conflict. The one is the reactionary, provincial and essentially savage concept which aims at a return of the old feudalistic ideal, with the difference that in the Middle Ages the war-lords were the dukes, the barons and feudal chieftains who dominated small areas and who strove by the "big-stick" policy to become more and more powerful; whereas, to-day, the reactionaries seek by the same savage methods—by increased armament and vastly augmented military burdens—to secure to their several nations the same kind of supremacy through the might of brute force and intellectual cunning which marked the feudalism of the Dark Ages. The opposing world-ideal seeks to increase the power and binding force of international courts of arbitration and congresses for the peaceful and practical federation of the world along lines that will render war between nations as unjustifiable as in civilized states war with pistol, knife or gun is unjustifiable and intolerable between the individual citizens in a nation, and which will respect the rights and sanctity of nations and further all world-movements that make for the development and happiness of the individual and the advance of true civilization throughout the world—movements such as have already been accomplished by the International Postal Union, and from which all peoples are to-day enjoying in greater or less degree the beneficent fruits. This great movement of the practical idealists for the realization on earth of the prayer and the dream of the founder of Christianity is perhaps the most inspiring and promising world-work that engages the attention of earth's foremost ethical leaders. It is a movement that will also take from civilized lands their most crushing, useless and demoralizing burden—the vast expense incident to sustaining men and measures dedicated to human slaughter and the devastation of the lands of the earth.

The present volume is an important contribution to the literature of peace and prog-

ress. In it Mr. Bridgman discusses the subject of world organization in the clear and able manner of one who has thoroughly mastered his theme.

Among the principal subjects considered are: "The World Constitution," "The World Legislature," "The World Judiciary," and "The World Executive," each subject occupying a chapter. "World Legislation Already Accomplished," "World Business Now Pending," "Forces Active for World Unity," and "World Organization Secures World Peace," are other very important chapters.

To most persons many of the facts presented in this volume will come as a revelation. Especially will this be true of the practical achievements made toward world federation and the astonishing results that have been accomplished in the direction of international legislative and executive business. The case of International Postal Regulation is a typical and striking illustration of this character, while the progress made toward international arbitration is dwelt upon as indicating the nature and trend of a world-movement that, if the friends of peace everywhere will persistently and steadily uphold, will soon lead to a permanent supreme court of arbitration whose decisions will carry binding power on all nations and which in a short time will render war well-nigh impossible.

Friends of peace and all who realize the new demands imposed on civilization by the growing realization of the solidarity of life and its inescapable duty and obligation will find this volume of interest and practical value. It is an important contribution to the literature that makes for a permanent upward-moving civilization.

The Man of the Hour. By Octave Thanet. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 477. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel considered as fiction merits special notice. It is one of the best romances of the year, and in spite of an occasional unfortunate expression and some loose phrases, which even the canons of realism would not justify, it is a better piece of literature than most American novels of the present. As a sociological study, it is impossible to speak in such favorable terms, for though there is much that is fine and true in its spirit, and though we believe that the author desires to

be fair and just, she has signally failed at many points. This failure seems to arise from a confused and superficial view of the subject she essays to treat and the casting of her story in a mould consistent with the *ex-parte* views of such enemies of organized labor as Messrs. Parry and Post and of such writers as Mr. Ralph Easley of the Civic Federation. To be guided by the opinions of such thinkers or of men of their ilk is to commit one's self to a one-sided view of the social question, which in spite of honest intentions on the part of the author cannot fail to prove injurious, as they are misrepresentative in character. Thus, there is much of that confusion pervading this work, in reference to Socialists, Anarchists and Nihilists, that a few years ago was a marked feature of the literature of reactionary thought. Again, the author has chosen as the master-spirit among the radical union leaders a man who is at once an unprincipled grafter, a downright thief, and a brutal murderous character, and subtly she conveys the idea that the radical wing of the social reformers and of labor unions are either selfish or irresponsible, or are committed to a policy of violence, all of which, as a matter of fact, is false, although, of course, all classes of society hold in their midst the Judases and the Benedict Arnolds, but we believe that nowhere are such characters less typical than in the ranks where she places them as master-spirits.

In the author's opposition to governmental ownership of the railways again we behold the superficial thinker who parrots long-exploded theories of the interested classes. On the same grounds that she opposes governmental railways she would, if consistent, oppose the government operating the post-office. Thus, while in many ways the spirit of the book is fine and the author gives evidence of a wish to be just, it is clear that she has taken her opinions from partisans of capitalistic classes and from the school committed to palliative reforms, such as the work carried forward by associated charities—a school which shrinks from radical and fundamental measures for the securing of justice to all the people.

The story deals with the life of a boy, the son of an American manufacturer and a Russian princess. The father is a typical American capitalist, a man who has made a large fortune in manufacturing agricultural implements, and who, as a landlord, does not scruple to summarily evict his poor tenants

when adversity overtakes them and they are unable to pay their rent promptly. The wife, though a Russian princess, was a Nihilist, who through her love for the people and her horror of the oppression and injustice of the despotic bureaucracy, is so opposed to privileged classes as to render her position in Russia insecure. To get her out of the country before the authorities transported her to Siberia, her family encouraged the suit of Mr. Winslow, who at the time was in Russia in the interest of his manufactures. The princess came to America expecting to see the principle of freedom, justice and fraternity everywhere in evidence. She was disillusioned, and to her supreme distress her husband shared views far more in accord with those of the Russian bureaucracy than those she entertained. Ultimately, long after the birth of their son, Johnny Ivan, the husband and wife separated, the wife going to Switzerland where she died. The father married again, and Johnny, with intense love for his mother and respect for his father, grew up sharing his mother's sympathy for the poor and many of her social views. When the father died, Johnny was left with only one hundred thousand dollars from his great estate, but the will provided that if when he attained the age of thirty he should still be in possession of this amount, he should come into the bulk of his father's fortune. Otherwise, the stepmother should enjoy it. Johnny, who by this time is graduated from Harvard, identifies himself with the revolutionary section of the labor unions in Chicago, and is relieved of his money by a band of parasites and rogues who pose as militant Socialists and labor leaders. A walking-delegate, who has little sympathy with the ideals of the Socialists and who is painted in glowing colors such as the capitalists always paint the labor-leader who acts in accordance with their wishes, is held up to the admiration of the reader, and through him and Johnny's stepmother and his old sweetheart, the boy is reclaimed from his lost estate as a social reformer and transformed into a capitalist magnate whose first act is to run a lot of negro strike-breakers into his father's factory and break up a strike then in process. He is almost killed through the instrumentality of the villain, who, while posing as a social reformer, robbed Johnny. Finally, the reclaimed capitalist marries his little playmate sweetheart, is reconciled to his stepmother, and all ends happily.

Return. By Agnes MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 544. Price, \$1.50. Boston: L. C. Page & Company.

Return is a capital love-story, one of the very best romantic novels of the year. The scenes are laid in Charleston, Savannah and in the outlying country between these towns and St. Augustine and also west of Savannah. The period chosen is the stirring and often thrilling time early in the eighteenth century when General Oglethorpe was heroically laboring to build up a prosperous and Anglo-Saxon colony in Savannah and to hold in check and so far as possible defeat the ambitious aim of Spain.

The tale opens in Charleston, S. C. The heroine, Diana Chaters, a famous beauty and a notorious flirt, has at last been caught in the snares of a gallant as perfidious as herself. She is deeply in love with this last suitor. A magnificent church-wedding has been arranged, but at the church Diana receives a note from the man she expected to marry her jilting her. The blow to the girl's pride almost dethrones her reason. She has heretofore been more a body without a soul than aught else, a woman prominent for her beauty and charm of manners. She has captivated men on every side only to spurn them when their love has been won. Now, she has received like treatment from the only man she has ever cared for. In humiliation she flees to Savannah where she is welcomed by General Oglethorpe, long a strong friend of the family. At this period her one desire is to marry some courageous young man and induce him to wreak vengeance on the lover who has discarded her. In pursuance of this plan she weds a brilliant, noble, courageous but high-spirited young Virginian named Marshall.

Soon after the wedding the husband finds that his wife has never loved him. A bitter scene is followed by the departure of the young man to fight the Spaniards and the Indians. Then comes war, days and weeks and months of bitterness to Diana. At length a little son is born, but ere this event, the father disappears during a fierce fight among the Indians and Spaniards. Whether, however, he had been killed or taken prisoner, no one knew, although his body was not found among the dead. The long period of waiting, the coming of the little child and the news of the disappearance of her husband serve to break the foolish pride and destroy the self-adulation and soul-destroying egotism of Diana. From out the night-time of pain, sorrow and bitterness she emerges as one reborn. Her soul has been quickened, and during the waiting time she has learned to love her husband with all the intensity of a naturally strong nature. At length she sets out with her babe in search of him. Long and tireless are the journeys, but at length the glory of love's full fruition comes to the reunited ones.

Though the story is first of all a love romance, and is chiefly concerned with the history of Diana Marshall and her husband, there are numerous characters interspersed through the story who play important parts in the romance. A delightful chapter is devoted to Whitefield and his great work at Savannah.

The realist will find as little in this work to praise as he finds in the novels of the elder Dumas. The scenes, the times, the customs and the people are, it is true, very unlike those with whom we are familiar, but this is true of all novels of the romantic school which picture life of other days, and those who delight in an absorbingly interesting love romance over which the glamor of romanticism is cast, will enjoy *Return*.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. MOODY AND THE CONSERVATION OF MONOPOLY: The paper by Mr. JOHN MOODY, which we publish this month, will attract general attention. The author's exhaustive work, entitled *The Truth About the Trusts*, which appeared in 1904, received, we believe, more extended notice than any similar economic discussion of recent years, and his position as a well-equipped thinker is such as to insure a general hearing for him on any question relating to social, economic or political problems. Furthermore, though a strong individualist, he is an outspoken reformer, who represents a large

body of intelligent and earnest thinkers, who believe that the single-tax in connection with efficient measures for securing the benefits of direct-legislation, through the initiative and referendum, would destroy the evils from which the social organism is suffering, and that by the adoption of these measures, equality of opportunities and of rights can be best attained. We take pleasure in presenting the views of Mr. MOODY because they are the thoughts of a high-minded social reformer of the individualistic school. We think he is in error in some of his conclusions, as for example, his belief that the public-service com-

panies and monopolies wish governmental control. This point we have elsewhere noticed at length. Furthermore, it seems to us that Mr. MOODY, in common with other earnest thinkers, fails to realize the difference between a monopoly owned and operated by all the people for the equal benefit of all the people and a monopoly enjoyed by a few persons for the enormous enrichment of the few at the expense of the masses who produce and consume.

Proportional Representation in Switzerland: In this issue we give another paper in our series of ideal democratic measures for conserving popular government. Mr. TRYON is probably the ablest American advocate of this important reform which is operated so satisfactorily in Switzerland, Belgium and in several other countries of the globe.

Mr. Mills on the Denver Utility-Trust and Municipal-Ownership: We doubt if America possesses to-day the peer of the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS among her ablest trained legal minds who are committed to public-ownership and the reclamation of the natural monopolies from the commercial brigands who are corrupting the public servants in every department of government and shamefully robbing and oppressing all the people. The paper which we publish this month is long, but it is of so startling and circumstantial a character that it is safe to say that all serious-minded Americans interested in civic purity and good government, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, who begin the paper will not only peruse it to the end, but will eagerly await the concluding section which will appear in the November ARENA. Never, we believe, has a more startling or concrete example of the actual operations of the true anarchists been published than is found in this notable contribution to the literature of civic righteousness. Mr. MILLS is one of the most careful thinkers among our leading lawyers, but he also possesses the rare merit of being thoroughly fearless when he is assured of the truth of his evidence and the justice of his cause. His incisive statement of the case for public-ownership is clear and convincing, while his revelations of the infamy of the water-works plunderers and their baleful influence over courts and legislative bodies, ought in themselves to awaken the most slow-thinking of our people to the imperative need of the public taking the natural monopolies out of the hands of corporations, who more than all other sinister influences have debauched government and corrupted the people's servants and who through these evil practices have been able to rob and oppress the people in a manner that under many liberal monarchies would have occasioned revolution if attempted by the ruling sovereign.

The American Doctrine of Shipping Rights: At the present time, when the menace of a ship-subsidy is again threatening the nation, a clear, comprehensive, and informing historical survey of the shipping doctrine of the early history of our republic and its results is at once timely and of great importance to all persons interested in the real advance of the shipping interests but who are also the uncompromising foes of ship-subsidies, steals or other forms of grafting by which a few over-rich individuals are ever seeking to loot the public treasury for private gain. Mr. BATES is one of the best informed authorities in America. His two large volumes, *American Marine* and *American Navigation*, published by

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, of Boston, are without doubt the most exhaustive treatises on the subject that have appeared.

The Uses and Abuses of Italian Travel: Our readers will derive much pleasure and profit from Mr. CARL VROOMAN's thoughtful paper on Italian travel. After completing his education at Harvard, Mr. VROOMAN held for some time a position as Regent of the Kansas Agricultural College. Later, he has spent much time in the Old World devoted to study and research. For several months he has been in Italy and Switzerland. The paper on Italian travel will be complemented by an equally interesting paper on Switzerland which we hope to find room for in our November issue.

Mr. Elwell's Paper: Mr. ELWELL's description of the advance made by a young sculptress in New York and the fine illustration of her first important work, molded without any assistance, will prove inspiring to many young people who have the courage and determination to succeed in spite of serious obstacles. "Mart." is now in Paris, and the progress she is making confirms the expectation of her master and friends who have followed her remarkable progress. Mr. ELWELL is one of our really great artists whose noble work has enriched various art-centers of the New World and who, it is to be hoped, will give the world many more of such distinctly great creations as his DICKENS group, "Egypt Awakening" and "Intelligence Subduing Brute Force."

The Woman's Club Movement: Mrs. ALMA A. ROGERS' paper will deeply interest tens of thousands of American women who are actively engaged in the various important club-work being carried on throughout the republic. There can be no question but that the woman's club movement has exerted a great influence in broadening, educating and developing American womanhood.

A Pastoral of the Hills: We take great pleasure in calling the special attention of our readers to MARIE ANTOINETTE MCKIM's fine story. It cannot fail to delight lovers of that fiction which is at once literature and a faithful reflex of present-day life and conditions. We believe this to be the best short story, with the possible exception of Miss DROMGOOLE's *The New Year's Watch*, that has appeared in THE ARENA in recent years. We predict that Miss MCKIM has a brilliant future before her if she devotes her attention to literature. Besides being a delightful creation from a literary view-point, there is here present the spirit of human interest and sympathy which will appeal to all fine natures.

Our Book-Study: This month we have given a somewhat extended review to Miss TARBELL's important history of the Standard Oil Company, because we believe this to be one of the most valuable conscience-works of recent decades.

A Correction: In Hon. J. WARNER MILLS' article in this issue, on page 382, thirty lines from the top of the first column, after the name of GUY LEROY STEVICK, the name W. C. KINGSLEY was omitted. On page 384, nine lines from the top of the second column the figures reading 1905, \$2,500,000 should read 1904, \$2,295,424.